Anatomy of a Duchy

The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures

of Early Přemyslid Bohemia

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David Kalhous

BRILL

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East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450

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The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia

By

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abh.d.Ak.d.W.	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften*
AfD	*Archiv für Diplomatik, Paläographie, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*
AfMiRhKiG	*Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*
AfKuG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*
AfUF	*Archiv für Urkundenforschung*
AHM	*Acta historica et museologica Univesitatis Silesianae Opaviensis*
AfÖG	*Archiv für Kunde der Österreichischen Geschichtsquellen*
AH	*Archeologia Historica*
AmHR	*American Historical Review*
AR	*Archeologické rozhledy*
AUC	*Acta Universitatis Carolinae*
AUPO	*Acta Universiatatis Palackianae Olomucensis*
BlldLG	*Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis*
CDB	*Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*
CDSl	*Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*
ČČH	*Český časopis historický*
ČsČH	*Československý časopis historický*
ČMM	*Časopis Matice moravské*
ČNM	*Časopis Národního muzea*
ČSlM	*Časopis Slezského muzea*
DA	*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
DaS	*Dějiny a současnost*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
FdG	*Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*
FHB	*Folia Historica Bohemica*
FmSt	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
FRB	*Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*
HČ	*Historický časopis*
HD	*Hospodářské dějiny*
HDem	*Historická demografie*
HG	*Historická geografie*

HJb	*Historisches Jahrbuch*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
JAmLegH	*Journal of American Legal History*
JbfGOE	*Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas*
JbGMOD	*Jahrbuch für Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeuschlands*
JbRGZM	*Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz*
JecclH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JMedH	*Journal of Medieval History*
KwHKM	*Kwartalnik Historiczny kultury materialnej*
KwH	*Kwartalnik Historiczny*
LF	*Listy filologické*
MedScan	*Medieval Scandinavia*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
– AA	– *Auctores Antiquissimi*
– DD	– *Diplomata*
– EE	– *Epistolae*
– EE Sel.	– *Epistolae Selectae*
– LdL	– *Libelli de Lite pontificum et imperatorum . . .*
– LL	– *Leges*
– SRG	– *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum . . .*
– SRG N.S.	– *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum Nova Series*
– SRM	– *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*
– SS	– *Scriptores*
MHB	*Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica*
MIÖG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*
MMFH	*Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*
MPH N.S.	*Monumenta Poloniae Historica Nova Series*
MVGDB	*Mittelungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*
MZK	*Minulostí západočeského kraje*
NA	*Neues Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
NiedersächJbfLG	*Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*
PA	*Památky archeologické*
PaP	*Past and Present*
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*
Ö. A. d. W.	*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*

RhVjBll	*Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*
RI	*Regesta Imperii*
RoczH	*Roczniky Historiczne*
SAP	*Sborník archivních prací*
Sb. d. kgl. Böhm.	*Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Böhmischen*
Ges. d. W.	*Gesselschaft der Wissenschaften*
SH	*Sborník historický*
SlSb	*Slezský sborník*
SMP	*Studia Medievalia Pragensia*
SNM	*Sborník Národního muzea*
SPFFBU	*Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*
SprArch	*Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*
SRH	*Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*
SSPS	*Sborník Společnosti přátel starožitností*
StŹr	*Studia Źrodloznawcze*
Tel Aviver JbfdG	*Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte*
VSWG	*Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*
VKČSN	*Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk*
VuF	*Vorträge und Forschungen*
VVM	*Vlastivědný věstník moravský*
ZGORh	*Zeitschrift für Geschichte Oberrheins*
ZfOF	*Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*
ZRG	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung: Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte*
– GA	*– Germanistische Abteilung*
– KA	*– Kanonistische Abteilung*
ZVGMSchl	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereines für die Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens*
ZVGASch	*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens*

PREFACE

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This book I dedicate to my parents and to my Zuzka.

David Kalhous
3 January 2012
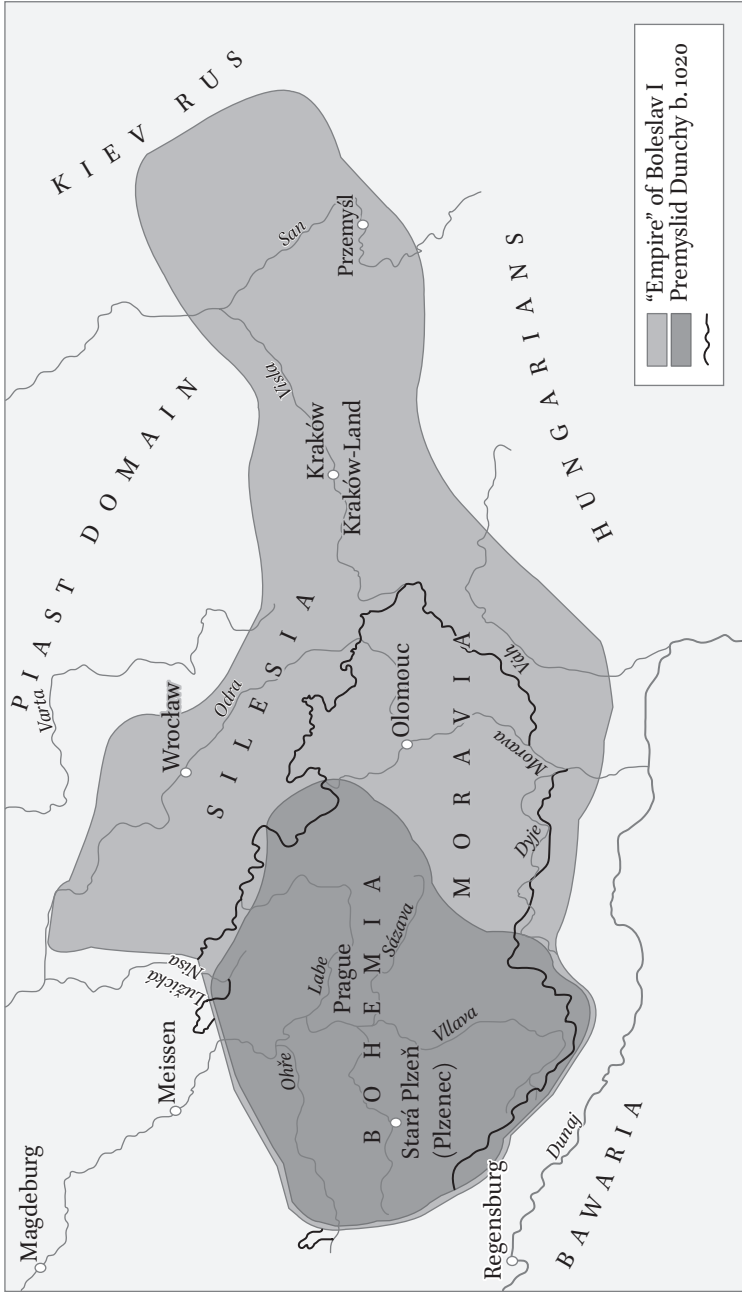
Map 1. Assumed empire of Boleslav I and II.
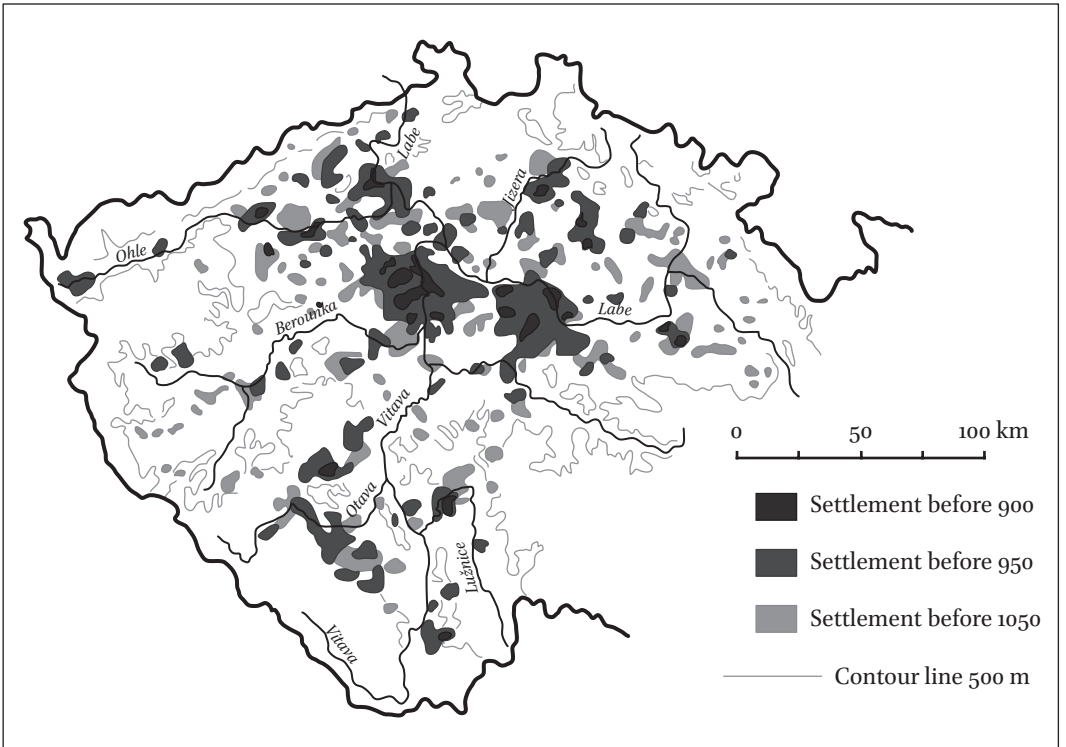
Map 2. Early medieval settlement of Bohemia according to Sláma.

St. Georg, Prague Castle 973
Prague 976
Břevnov 993
Ostrov 999
Sázava 1030's
Stará Boleslav 1046
Rajhrad c 1050
Litoměřice 1057
Olomouc 1063 (?)

Monasteries and chapters ca.

- Episcopal see
- Chapter
- Monastery

Litoměřice

St. Georg
Břevnov
Prague
Vyšehrad
Ostrov

St. Bolesl.
Opatovice

Sázava

Olomouc

Třebíč

Rajhrad

Hradisko 1078
Opatovice
1070's-1080's
Vyšehrad 1070's
Třebíč 1101

0   50 km

Map 3. Important church institutions *c.*1100.
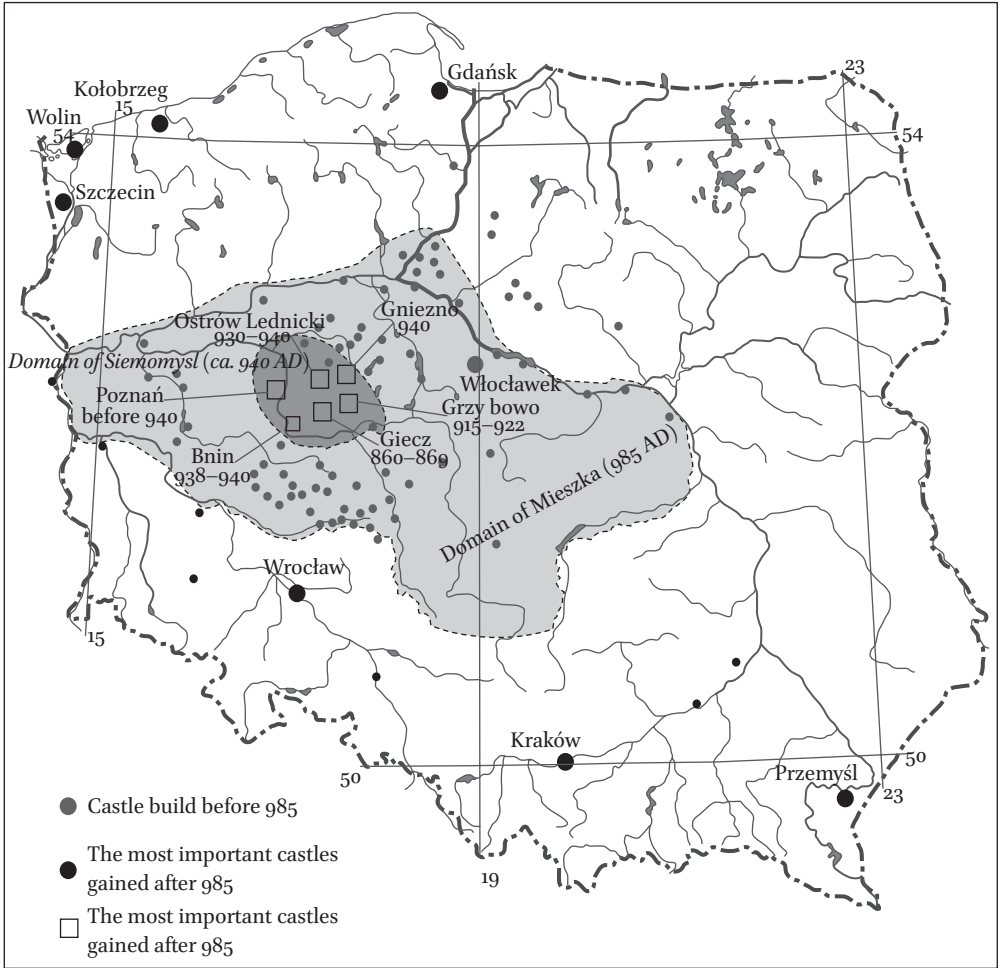
Map 4. Mieszko and his domain.

INTRODUCTION

The Přemyslids were one of the middle European dynasties that ruled Bohemia and Moravia for more than 400 years (880s–1306). They are hardly part of English and American historical discourse—at the moment only one monograph written by Lisa Wolwerton exists that focuses on Přemyslid interaction with 12th century aristocracy in Bohemia and Moravia.[1] The last monograph in English about East Central Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries was written by Byzantinist Francis (František) Dvornik.[2] However, analysis of the beginning of early medieval realms in Middle Europe offers an opportunity to compare the Přemyslids with the situation in rest of Europe- or at least enables historians who do not read in Slavonic languages to familiarize themselves with today's state of research and its problematic points.[3]

Literally expressed, the beginning of Přemyslid rule in Bohemia lies in the shadows. The marginal note in one of the 9th-century-manuscripts of the Annals of Fulda mentions Duke "Borziwoy" as one of the princes from Bohemia. However, only later tenth century tradition describes him as the husband of St Ludmila (†921), baptized in Great Moravia by St. Methodius (†885), archbishop of Moravians. The 12th-century chronicler and dean of Prague's cathedral church, Cosmas, (†1125) sees the members of the Přemyslid dynasty as natural heirs of all Bohemia and rulers of the Bohemian *populus*. The Přemyslids rose to power in the century-wide gap between the emergence of the dukes who ruled the region around the Prague castle and the later princes of Bohemians. Although there are some interesting sources written in different parts of 10th- and 11th-century Europe, their reliability is still a matter of discussions.

Prevailing historiographical discourse describes the 10th century in terms of the military success of Boleslav I (935–972), who organised a great

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[1] Lisa Wolverton, *Hastening toward Prague. Power and society in the medieval Czech lands*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

[2] Francis Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (London: Polish Research Centre, 1948). See introduction in Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[3] See also Jiří Macháček, *Pohansko bei Břeclav: Ein frühmittelalterliches Zentrum als sozialwirtschaftliches System*, Studien zur Archäologie Europas 5 (Bonn: Habelt, 2007), or Jan Klápště, *The Czech Lands in Medieval Transformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

cavalry army that gave him victories over the weakly organised tribes in today's Silesia and Lesser Poland (southern regions of Poland)—as was done previously by Charles the Martell or Moravian Prince Svatopluk I (†894), or later Piast duke of Polonians Mieszko I (960s–992). Boleslav's retinue was paid by means of the slaves sold to Arabian and Jewish merchants, travelers, and envoys coming from western caliphate in the Iberian Peninsula. His successor Boleslav II (972–999) lost his father's "empire" because his neighbors also equipped great retinues—which in turn conquered most of his realm. Subsequently, after a short period of crisis the Přemyslids transformed their domain in Bohemia (and after 1020 in Moravia as well), creating a strong centralized state—that was weakened during the 12th and 13th century by the the new, land-owning aristocracy.[4]

The above portrayal of the Přemyslid rise is not above doubt. We know nearly nothing about 10th century society in Bohemia and Moravia. No archeological sources evidence a strong cavalry army of the Přemyslid princes. Neither do tenth century chroniclers and annalists mention the powerful retinues of Přemyslid (and Piast) princes. Only Arabian and Jewish travelers and merchants discuss it; however, we are not able to confirm their witnesses through the sources written in Bohemia, Moravia or Polonia.

Another paradox is the fact that the bureaucratic apparatus of the later 11th- and 12th century Přemyslid "state" produced only 15 charters before 1120. Naturally, not all 11th and 12th century diplomas survived to the 21st century. However, the growing numbers of privileges after 1140 clearly demonstrates structural changes in 12th century Bohemian and Moravian society. Also, remarks that accord with the conventional portrayal mentioned above might need reevaluation due to confusion over the nature of early medieval statehood—which is often imagined in terms of a modern state rather than according to early medieval reality.[5]

The emphasis on strong ducal power in the paradigmatical articles and monographs (1960s–2000s) has a long prehistory. The discourse of that time concerning the Carolingians (as well as Přemyslids) was based on a notion from Waitz's time, when the German or Bohemian intellectuals

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[4] Conf. *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu*, edited by Petr Sommer, Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička (Praha: Lidové noviny, 2009).

[5] Walter Pohl, "Staat und Herrschaft im Frühmittelalter: Überlegungen zum Forschungsstand," in *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mitterlalters 11, edited by Stuart Airlie, Walter Pohl and Helmut Riemitz (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 9–38.

dreamed about "rebirth" of assumed strong medieval state with separate "public" and "private" spheres. They shared this idea with French historians who—following their medieval predecessors—also emphasized the importance of a strong central authority that was believed to be the only power capable of protecting the "nation" against its enemies, Slavs, Germans, Frenchmen, or Englishmen. This "centralized state" is, in 19th century historiography, generally understood to be positive when compared to the brutal anarchy of the "feudal" period, when the power of "nation" and "state" declined. The idea of continuity between the Roman Empire and the Merovingian kingdom was of great importance, especially in French medieval hagiography. Thanks to this concept, the role of Teutonic invaders (and their supposed German heirs) in the transformation of the Roman world into the Carolingian Frankish empire and medieval kingdom of France may have been minimized. Also, the most influential Czech historian, František Palacký (1798–1876), contrasted the Teutonic tendency to dominate and the liberalism of old Bohemians. Both tendencies confirm that the etatism and nationalism were in 19th and 20th century historiography closely related.

The discussion regarding the discontinuity of power is closely related to the debate on the continuity of Carolingian elites and their biological relationship to eleventh and twelfth century aristocracy.[6] The conservative-liberal concept was also drawn on by left-wing French historians, recently e.g. Marc Bloch.[7] The notion is petrified in particular in Georges Duby's monograph on the county of Mâcon; pointing out the usurpation of royal power by the counts, Duby even uses the term *decomposition de l'Etat franc* (p. 98). Evidence of this may be found both in an attempt at seizing jurisdiction over freemen as well as in the gradual transformation

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[6] On this issue, see Constance B. Bouchard, "The Origins of the French Aristocracy: A Reassessment," *AHR* 86 (1981): 501–532. This study features valuable methodological comments on the attempts to find "descendants" and "relatives" at any cost by means of confusing likelihood with certainty, see ibid. 505–509.

[7] E.g. Marc Bloch, *Die Feudalgesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1999). He probably regards the state as the only sufficient organisational element of public interests, since he writes (p. 84) that "...with the fall of the Carolingian empire the last power disappeared which was provident enough to take care of public works and powerful enough to implement at least some of them," As Bloch puts it, after this first stage of feudalism, which had followed the Carolingian period and featured deep depression, a second stage came between 1050 and 1230, in which the land recovered, see ibid., 93–97. On the question of weakening of public institutions enforcing the law, see ibid., 436–441; on dismissibility of "officials" in the Carolingian period and on distinction between *honores*, (offices), and "benefices", which, however, gradually blurred and gave way to a tendency to hereditariness, see ibid., 234–237, concrete cases, see ibid., 237–257.

of appointed offices into hereditary ones.[8] Georges Duby claims that in the next stage the public judicial forum for freemen known as the *malus publicum*—which replaced the judicial ban on Castellans and the immunized areas of the church—disappeared, with Mâcon and indeed all of France essentially disintegrating into individual castellanies.[9]

German historiography developed along somewhat different lines. As early as the turn of the 20th century, suggestions appeared redirecting the search for the origin of aristocracy into the "pre-state" period, early medieval aristocracy was understood as autonomous, i.e. defined not only by the relationship to the king, but by a common ethos and the possession of large estates. Moreover, value judgments behind the liberal concept also underwent a substantial shift. In effect, "feudal chaos" ceased to be understood as an entirely negative phenomenon.[10] The notion of the "medieval state", overly evocative of modern conditions, was replaced by the concept of competition (as well as cooperation) of kings and nobles *Herrschaften* within a "country" defined by provincial law.[11]

For Czech medieval historiography, life in the communist totalitarian regime, which believed in and promoted its omnipotence and omnipresence, certainly left its mark in the works of generations of Bohemian

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[8] See especially Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971), 89–108. Timothy Reuter, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," pt. 3, *PaP* 155 (1996): 177–195, 187 accepts Duby's idea that, unlike in the Carolingian period, tenth and eleventh century France lacked the ability to distinguish between rulers who prescribed standards and those who did not, claiming that "all of them now, at least theoretically, were miniature kings".

[9] Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, 141–145, 174–188. See also Georges Duby, *The Knight, The Lady, and the Priest* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), or Karl Schmid, "Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel: Vorfragen zum Thema 'Adel und Herrschaft im Mittelalter'," *ZGORh* 105 (1957): 1–62. On the transformation of amorphous noble clans into dynasties, see critical remarks in Constance B. Bouchard, "Family Structure and Feudal Consciousness among the Aristocracy in the Ninth to Twelfth Century," *Francia* 14 (1986): 639–658.

[10] From earlier authors, see e.g. Heinrich Mitteis, *Der Staat des hohen Mittelalters: Grundlinien einer vergleichenden Verfassungsgeschichte des Lehnszeitalters*, 6th ed. (Weimar: Böhlau, 1959), 11–12, 53.

[11] Otto Brunner, *Land und Herrschaft: Grundfragen der territorialen Verfassungsgeschichte Südostdeutschlands im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Brno: Rohrer, 1942), 190–191, 203–217, 433–442, 442–455 and especially 465–495. It is probably not coincidental that these works appeared after Weber's book on various types of authority using strikingly similar terminology had been published. Strangely, the works of the authors of this "school" fail to refer to Max Weber. Compare *Herrschaft und Staat im Mittelalter. Wege der Forschung 2*, edited by Hellmut Kämpf (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buschgesellschaft, 1956).

historians.[12] Experience with totalitarian regimes in 1940s and 1950s prompted discussion about the strength of the state, which on one side problematized its power, while one the other asked if the State's power should be identified with the omnipotence of its central institutions. The terminology used by "Přemyslid medievalists" is problematic too. The selection of terms is determined rather by the need to appeal to a lay readership through easily understandable texts, than by the need to clearly define the employed terms. Most significant is in this case the term "state", where the discussion about the character of early medieval "state" remains unmentioned, although this term is of key importance for the concept of "strong Přemyslid state" and for the definition of its alleged strength.[13] (Inspiring attempts to reflect on the concept of "chiefdom" are still marginal.[14]) It is a paradox that Czech historians of the Middle Ages mention inefficiency of the Early Medieval "realm", but in accordance with Marcel Bloch or Georges Duby and many historians of 19th century, they also emphasize the strength of this "realm". This might was broken with the realm's "privatization" by aristocracy, which in turn weakened the power of the king and undermined the freedom of freemen.[15] As examples of this type of organisation, Dušan Třeštík mentions the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity and the Carolingian Empire.[16] Subsequently, he

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[12] For limits of power of totaliarian regimes see Václav Kaška, "Indoktrinace členů KSČ během tzv. dnů komunistické výchovy 1948–1949: organizace, ideologické zázemí, lokální průběh," *Dějiny-teorie-kritika* 4 (2008): 39–78 and also Aron J. Gurevič, *Historikova historie* (Praha: Argo, 2007).

[13] Most recently *Staat im frühen Mittelalter* and *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat: Europäische Perspektive*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mitterlalters 16, edited by Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009).

[14] Concept was formulated by Marshall D. Sahlins, "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5 (1963): 283–303. See also Timothy K. Earle, "The Evolution of chiefdoms," *Current Anthropology* 30 (1989): 84–88, at 86; Timothy K. Earle, "Chiefdoms in archeological and ethnohistorical perspective," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16 (1987): 279–308; Paula Brown, "Big Man, Past and Present: Model, Person, Hero, Legend," *Ethnology* 29 (1990): 97–115; Rena Lederaman, "Big Men, Large and Small? Towards a Comparative Perspective," *Ethnology* 29 (1990): 3–15. In Czech historiography, see Petr Charvát, "Náčelnictví či raný stát?" *PA* 80 (1989): 207–222; more recently, for Great Moravia, see Jiří Macháček, "Raněstředověké Pohansko u Břeclavi: Munitio, palatium, nebo emporium moravských panovníků?" *AR* 57 (2005): 100–138.

[15] Explicitly in Josef Žemlička, "České 13. století: 'Privatizace' státu," *ČČH* 101 (2003): 509–541.

[16] Dušan Třeštík, " 'Eine große Stadt der Slawen namens Prag': Staaten und Sklaven in Mitteleuropa im 10. Jahrhundert," in *Boleslav II.: Der tschechische Staat um das Jahr 1000*, edited by Petr Sommer. Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 2, 93–138 (Prague: Filosofia, 2001):

compares these two establishments to the Přemyslid realm of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[17] A problematic feature of his reflections is, however, the excessive dependency on an extreme Romanizing research tendency regarding the transformation of the Roman Empire, which was considered a binding paradigm. Indeed, this point places question marks over the employment of "Western" analogies in the process of strengthening the concept of a "centralized" early Přemyslid monarchy. These objections do not make it possible to completely reject the concept of a state of the "Central European type", but they certainly question the search for allegedly indubitable Carolingian parallels. They imply that, despite the existence of certain explication models, a uniform "Carolingian model" hardly existed. Therefore, it can be used to support one's own hypotheses only with difficulty.

   The generation gap might be another source of ambiguity which feeds today's fierce discussion in Czech Medieval historiography. There is, on the one hand, reluctance of older historians to repeat previously proposed reasoning and, on the other hand, an unwillingness of younger historians to study the results of the older generation in detail. One may be surprised, but a more thorough consideration of the reasons for these circumstances provides a certain clue. The cause may be found in several facts: Přemyslid medievalists developed, particularly in the 70s and 80s, in considerable isolation and within a very limited group of persons. It is evident that this situation resulted in the formation of a specific language with which "everybody" was familiar. Beyond this small circle of scholars, however, the original function of this language, i.e. the need to facilitate communication within the group and not the endeavour to communicate outside its framework, prevents its comprehension. In connection with that, initially functional terms lost their meaning and became misleading

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103, n. 44 defines the state as follows: *Unter 'Staat' verstehe ich hier den Typ des 'Beamtenstaates' der späten Antike und des Karolingischen Reiches, der vor allem durch die allgemeine Untertänigkeit der 'Bürger' dem Staat charakterisiert ist—der spätantiken Cives und der Freien, einschließlich der Aristokratie. Sein herausragendes Merkmal ist also das Fehlen des Adels als erblich privilegierter Stand. Das Ottonische Reich war sicher kein solcher Staat mehr; die von den Přemysliden, Piasten und Arpaden geschaffenen Machtgebilde entsprachen jedoch tatsächlich dieser Definition, sie waren bis zu den großen Umwälzungen des 13. Jahrhunderts wirkliche Staaten, ja sogar 'Beamtenstaaten' im engeren Sinne des Wortes. Am Anfang, im 10. Jahrhundert, steht allerdings—wie wir im weiteren zeigen werden, etwas einigermaßen anderes, große 'Reiche', auf der Nutznießung der Expansion fußend und erst allmählich, nach Überwindung der Strukturkrise, zu einem reinen 'Beamtenmodell' übergehend, das auf der Nutzung innerer Quellen gegründet ist.*
   [17] Cf. the previous note.

metaphors. It holds true largely under the circumstances when the terms which are concerned are "wrapped" in a wealth of meanings.[18]

Telling the story of the Bohemian and Moravian early middle Ages as a part of a great and well-known narrative is also problematic because of the last debate concerning the relevance of classical models of feudalization as well as the value of judgments on which it is based. Many French, English and American historians point out a number of weaknesses and disparities: in source evidence as well as its "anecdotal" nature,[19] in the efforts to model the course of events throughout Europe on developments of the Isle de France, in our contentious tendency to link social order with the existence of a state, and in the resulting sentiments regarding the legality and legitimacy of certain actions.[20] For example Timothy Reuter agrees with the idea concerning the transformation of society at that time. However, he accepts Duby's position that, unlike in the Carolingian period, tenth and eleventh century France lacked the ability to distinguish between rulers who prescribed standards and those who did not, claiming that "all of them now, at least theoretically, were miniature kings".[21] He simultaneously stresses that it is necessary—instead of merely lamenting the brutality of the barons—to consider how the social order of the times had been maintained. In particular, he points out the importance of collective action, i.e. mass oaths and synods as well as the interconnectedness of violence and the lodging of legal claims and the resulting need for legitimacy.[22]

In similar terms, Chris Wickham emphasizes the transformation of the social frame of reference between 800 and 1100, noting the gradual disappearance of public forums for the settling of legal disputes known as *placitum*. In other words: while nobles in Carolingian times were interested in gaining control over the entire state, nobles several centuries later were

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[18] Pavlína Rychterová, "Aufstieg und Fall des Přemyslidenreiches: Erforschung des böhmischen Früh- und Hochmittelalters in der gegenwärtigen tschechischen Mediävistik," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 34 (2007): 629–647.

[19] It also holds true of Czech history: it is apparent from the comparison of the research of the earlier periods, mostly known on the basis of Cosmas and few other narrative sources and charters, with the thirteenth-century research, devoid of extant narrative sources but full of charters and formularies.

[20] Dominique Barthélemy, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," pt. 1, *PaP* 152 (1996): 196–205; Stephen D. White, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," pt. 2, *PaP* 152 (1996): 205–223; Reuter, "The 'Feudal Revolution', 177–195; Chris Wickham, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," pt. 4, *PaP* 155 (1996): 196–208. On this see the polemic Thomas N. Bisson, "Reply," *PaP* 155 (1996): 208–225.

[21] Reuter, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," 187.

[22] Ibid., 181–187.

no longer drawn by this superior power, having become autonomous agents instead. Simultaneously, barriers between various social groups were steadily growing and gradually beginning to take on a formal guise. Actual power, supported by force of habit and certain behavioral norms, traceable to as early as the Carolingian period, eventually became law.[23] Society in the year 800 vis-à-vis society in the year 1100 therefore differed in significant respects; however, according to Wickham, the transformation was a gradual one with no revolution taking place.[24]

Although the defensibility of some of the theses expressed here may be disputed, the general discursive framework indicates that historiography had begun to move away from the concept of the "central/princely institutions" as the necessary frame of reference for public action while also accommodating the self-organizing mechanisms featured in communities lacking such broadly applicable power monopolies. In other words, not only strongly centralized realms were acknowledged as organised communities (i.e. communities that did not lack norms and rules, and were able to enforce their observation).[25]

In the first part of this book, the current discourse about the early Přemyslid realm (tenth–eleventh centuries) will be re-examined. First we investigate its beginning in the tenth century. The limits of the concept of numerous "state retinues" will be examined in terms of the efficacy of cavalry armies in Middle Ages and in light of the source of its evidence. Then descriptions of the borders of the early Přemyslid and Piast "empires" will be analysed.

In the second part, we will focus on the "strength" of 11th century Přemyslid monarchy. There are two key problems to be solved. First, we have to decipher the relationship between Přemyslids and elites in Bohemia and Moravia and, the importance of these elites to the rule of the Czech lands. Second, the analysis of the beginning of Prague bishopric and the rest of the Benedictine abbeys and canonries in 10th and 11th century makes it possible to follow the importance of the church for the Přemyslid princes and their growing power.

Although there was no strong state in early medieval Bohemia and Moravia, there is evidence for a strong Přemyslid program formulated at the end of 10th century—with important consequences for elites. In order

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[23] Wickham, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," 202–205.
[24] Ibid., 207–208.
[25] Pohl, "Staat und Herrschaft".

to recognize this program's importance in the formulation of the common identity of Bohemian elites, we need to analyze the image of "barbarians" in 10th century chronicles and annals. From this we are allowed to understand the situation these "barbarians" were forced to withstand. Naturally, the creation of the "Others", e.g. "Bohemians", in imperial chronicles and annals had been not only one of the sources of their own (Saxon, Bavarian or Imperial) identity, but also formed the identity of "barbarian" elites, because this image was communicated to "barbarians" in different ways.

The idea of the Přemyslid program is based on two assumptions. First, *Legenda Christiani* was written at the end of 10th century. Second, it was intended as the reaction to many other different traditions about St. Methodius and St. Cyril, St. Ludmila and St. Wenceslas.

However, the *Legenda Christiani*, the source for this program, has been a topic of historiographical discussions for three centuries. Therefore, not only will earlier arguments for its authenticity be summed up, but it will also be necessary to formulate new ones to strengthen the hypothesis about the authenticity of this text and about the identity of its author.

Proof of authenticity opens the way to the comparative analysis of the cyrilomethodian tradition from the 9th to the 12th century in Great Moravia, Bohemia, Kievan Russia and Bulgaria that plays such an important role in *Legenda Christiani*. Only the comparison of one tradition fixed in different periods and regions will make its specifics in *Legenda Christiani* distinguishable. For the same reason the image of St. Wenceslas in the earliest legends has to be studied in next chapter.

The synthesis of our results enables us to recognize where the strengths and weaknesses of early medieval Přemyslid "realm" lay. It also contributes to the discussion about the beginning of complex societies in early medieval Europe from the perspective of the Central Europe.

"WEAK" BOHEMIA: A NON-STATE RETINUE-BASED POLITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE?

1. *Preconditions of the Genesis of the Přemyslid Realm*

The struggles for the boundaries of the realm of Přemyslids in the tenth century and the chronology of its genesis and fall have received considerable attention in the historiographies of Central Europe.[1] Unfortunately, the sources that might enable a reconstruction of power relationships in the regions of the present-day Central and Eastern Europe are scanty. Still, numerous hypotheses have been proposed concerning the development of the early Přemyslid Duchy. The concept formulated by František Graus in the 1960s and furthered by his followers from the next generations—Dušan Třeštík, Jiří Sláma, Josef Žemlička and Lubomír E. Havlík—has the most significant influence and interpretative ambitions.[2] In the following pages we will examine this concept from the perspective of source criticism and logistic and social limits as well.

František Graus puts forward the idea of four stages in the development of the retinue from a small private troop to a feudalized "extended state retinue", numbering thousands of warriors.[3] He already connects the third stage of the retinue's "development" with the genesis of the state and describes it as an "extended state retinue", entirely dependent on the ruler

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[1] Most recently on this debate, see Marzena Matla-Kozłowska, *Pierwsi Přemyslidzi i ich państwo od polowy X do polowy XI wieku. Ekspansja terytorialna i jej politiyczne uwarunkowania* (Poznań, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2008). Literature on this issue is extensive, but only a few works put forward original solutions and new argumentation. A complete bibliography is not presented here, since the purpose of this work is to sketch fundamental concepts rather than to provide bibliographical overview.

[2] František Graus, "Die Entstehung der mittelalterlichen Staaten in Mitteleuropa," *Historica* 10 (1965): 5–65. As regards potential misrepresentation of the idea of the "early medieval state of Central European type", there are difficulties with its conceptualization—concerning inconvenient ideas, critics tend to claim that those are "abandoned long ago". Or they propose quite disparate views as part of this concept, see a list of literature in Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička, "O modelech vývoje přemyslovského státu," *ČČH* 105 (2007): 122–164, at 122–124, n. 1. Moreover, no monograph has been written which would formulate the concept as a whole.

[3] František Graus, "Raněstředověké družiny a jejich význam při vzniku států ve střední Evropě," *ČsČH* 13 (1965): 1–18.

and totally loyal to him.[4] According to František Graus, rulers destroyed old social structures with the aid of this retinue army, from which new elite was recruited.[5] At the same time, allegedly, smaller retinues of the old type disappeared. Their sporadic existence František Graus did not exclude, but they did not play any significant role in his concept.[6] The retinue first gained its livelihood from loot, then from the ruler's treasury, and finally from allocated land. In this last stage of development, because of the need for establishing a territorial system, the retinue settled on the land, becoming feudalized. Thus, relationships between the members of the retinue and the ruler weakened, until the retinue dissolved.[7] František Graus thanks to a shift in terminology and due to the alleged discontinuity of hill-forts also acknowledges the existence of a deep divide between ninth and eleventh century society,[8] even accepting a prince's theoretical right to ownership of the whole country as well as the right to assign offices.[9] However, he simultaneously acknowledges the existence of allodial nobiliary estates[10] and ascribes considerable power to the magnate class as early as in the eleventh century.[11]

Graus's idea is elaborated on by his follower, Dušan Třeštík, who is convinced that he has discovered the source from which the Slavic dukes had paid these troops: the slave trade.[12] Dušan Třeštík even attempts to calculate the costs and, considering the amount of the slaves sold in

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[4] Ibid., 4–5. Barbara Krzemieńska and Dušan Třeštík, "Služebná organizace v raněstředověkých Čechách," *ČsČH* 12 (1964): 637–667, at 660. The authors claim that existence of a retinue is a necessary guarantee of property.

[5] See František Graus, "Adel, Land und Herrscher in Böhmen vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert," *Nachrichten der Giesener Hochschulgesellschaft* 35 (1966), 145. On the question of the genesis of aristocracy and a role of the elites in the early Přemyslid "state", see above chapter I. 3.

[6] Graus, "Raněstředověké družiny," 11.

[7] Ibid., 5, 15–17. To a large extent, Graus's views influenced Josef Žemlička, see n. 29.

[8] Graus, "Adel, Land und Herrscher," 143–145. Within the framework of this concept (or even beyond this framework?), however, some historians consider that *primates* were recruited from "tribal aristocracy", see Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski: Z dziejów Słowian w 1. tysiącleciu*, vol. 4 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), 113–115.

[9] Graus, "Adel, Land und Herrscher," 139–143.

[10] Ibid., 138–139: ". . . theoretisch von Anfang an eine Gewisse Oberherrschaft der Prager Fürsten über das ganze Land und allen Boden postuliert worden ist. Praktisch allerdings hatte sich wohl bald ein wirklicher Adelbesitz im Laufe des 11. Jahrhunderts durchgesetzt."

[11] Ibid., 139–143, 145–152.

[12] Moste recently in Dušan Třeštík, " 'Eine große Stadt der Slawen namens Prag' ", 125–128. Dušan Třeštík, together with his wife Barbara Krzemieńska, once participated in the formation of the concept of the "state of Central European type". E.g. in 1979, they claimed that the issue of the genesis of this state has not been solved yet, see Barbara Krzemieńska and Dušan Třeštík, "Hospodářské základy raněstředověkého státu ve střední

Cordoba he thought it probable the army's weapons and armour were paid out of the profit from the slave trade and from the loot.[13] According to him, these mounted warriors,[14] in contrast to Western Europe, were not enfeoffed with land, but were supported directly by the duke.[15] Dušan Třeštík also looks for analogies in Saxony, where, allegedly, a reform of Henry I the Fowler (919–936) also led to the formation of a large equestrian army.[16] However, the Přemyslids (and later the Piasts and Arpads), as Dušan Třeštík puts it, directly followed the model of Great Moravia, whose rulers supposedly managed to create a large cavalry units as well.[17] Dušan Třeštík alleges that—while Bohemian princes as a whole succumbed to the Přemyslids—the Great Moravian elites managed to maintain their autonomy.[18] Therefore, the Bohemian medieval aristocracy was not a direct successor of 9th century elites, but instead originated from

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Evropě: Čechy, Polsko, Uhry v 10. a 11. století," *Hospodářské dějiny* 1 (1979): 149–230, at 205. Thus, Třeštík's solution can be regarded as a natural attempt to answer this question.

[13] Ibid., 126.

[14] František Graus did not specify this fact.

[15] Dušan Třeštík, "Von Svatopluk zu Bolesław The Brave: Entstehung Mitteleuropas aus der Kraft des Tatsächliches und aus einer Idee," in *The Neighbours of Poland in the tenth Century*, edited by Przemysław Urbańczyk (Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, 2000), 125–127. Dušan Třeštík was inspired e.g. by Timothy Reuter, "Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire," *Transactions of The Royal Historical Society* 5.35 (1985): 75–94. But Timothy Reuter also mentions that Carolingian and Ottonian vassals did not hold any fiefs and were nourished by their lords, see ibid., 82–84. See also above. The thesis of the Carolingian fiefs is problematic, more recent literature doubts their common existence, see Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) or Herwig Wolfram, "Karl Martell und das fränkische Lehenswesen: Aufnahme eines Nichtbestandes," in *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, edited by Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn, and Michael Richter, Beihefte der Francia 37 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), 61–78; Brigitte Kasten, Das Lehenswesen—Fakt oder Fiktion?, in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat*, 331–353.

[16] Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců: Vstup Čechů do dějin, 530–935* (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997), 389–392, 435–440. The author proceeds especially from Karl J.Leyser, "Henry I and the Beginnigs of the Saxon Empire," in Karl J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours, 900–1250* (London: Hambledon, 1982), 11–42. Recently, this hypothesis has been heavily criticised on the basis of an examination of strategic situations in individual battles, which disproved the idea of military weakness of the Saxons, emphasized importance of castles in comparison with equestrians and also pointed to various sources of the Ottonian army, see Bernard Bachrach and David Bachrach, "Saxon Military Revolution, 912–973? Myth and Reality," *EME* 15 (2007): 186–222.

[17] Cf. especially Dušan Třeštík, "Pád Velké Moravy," in *Typologie raně feudálních slovanských států: Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference na téma 'Vznik a rozvoj slovanských raně feudálních států ve střední a jihovýchodní Evropě'*, edited by Josef Žemlička (Prague: Ústav československých a světových dějin ČSAV, 1987), 38–41. On more details, see the chapter on the elites 4. 3.

[18] Třeštík, "Pád Velké Moravy," 38–41. For him, the proof is, among other things, syncretism of Great Moravian culture.

the courtiers and servants of the Přemyslid dynasty, who, as early as the turn of the twelfth century, had begun the building of their own base: the external manifestation of this phenomenon may be seen in an alleged "internal colonization of the country".[19]

In the 1970s and '80s, Lubomír Havlík built on the concept of František Graus and, by means of consideration of the various possibilities of the genesis of the "early feudal state",[20] transformed earlier ideas into a complex pattern and describes the supposed process.[21] He believes that a typical feature of the first stage of the formation of firm power structures was an expansion that led to raising a forced, so-called exarchal tribute.[22] In the second stage, the given area was seized by garrisons, after which the local duke was deposed and his possessions expropriated. Finally, the elites of the subjugated region were dissolved and replaced by new ones. At the same time, an exarchic tribute, collected from outside, changed into an endarchic tribute, which served as a reward for the mighty in the form of retirement gifts.[23] However, Lubomír Havlík does not claim that the development inevitably went through all those phases. On the contrary, he points out that many such "realms" broke up.[24] In any case, he regards the ideal ducal possession of the entire land, reflected in collecting the tribute, as a characteristic feature.[25] For him, too, the retinue was an administrative tool of power.[26] On the basis of the analyses of Barbara Krzemieńska and Dušan Třeštík, he also assumes the existence of a private ruler's property[27] and accepts the existence of the estates cultivated

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[19] Dušan Třeštík, "K sociální struktuře přemyslovských Čech: Kosmas o knížecím vlastnictví půdy a lidí," *ČsČH* 19 (1971): 555–561.

[20] Lubomír E. Havlík, *Geneze feudální společnosti a státu ve slovanském prostředí* (Prague: Československo-sovět. institut ČSAV, 1987), 75–82. For Bohemian milieu Dušan Třeštík "Struktura feudální společnosti v českých zemích do poloviny 14. století," in *Struktura feudální společnosti na území Československa a Polska do přelomu 15. a 16. století*, edited by Ján Čierny, František Hejl, and Antonín Verbík (Prague: Ústav československých a světových dějin ČSAV, 1984), 23–39.

[21] Havlík, *Geneze feudální společnosti*, 102–104.

[22] Ibid., 102–104.

[23] Ibid., 95–98, 102–104.

[24] Ibid., 102–104.

[25] Ibid., 83–90.

[26] Ibid., 99.

[27] Ibid., 95–98. On the "service system", used by Havlík in his reasoning, see at least Krzemieńska and Třeštík, "Služebná organizace," 637–667. This hypothesis is believed to be probably the most significant argument in favour of the concept. In the aforementioned study by Třeštík and Žemlička, the "service system" is presented as a result of the needs of the duke and his "officals", who, in trying to secure a high degree of comfort for themselves, demanded duties and products from free peasants, see ibid., n. 36, 137–138. Nevertheless,

by slaves.[28] An essentially similar idea of the expanding realm, which soon collapses and is subsequently rebuilt on an altered basis in an attempt to use the limited space in a more effective manner, has recently been presented by Josef Žemlička. He applies this idea to the present-day Czech and Polish areas in the tenth and eleventh century.[29]

Fortified settlements played a significant role within the abovementioned concept, too. Approximately twenty years ago, on the basis of an analysis of archaeological sources in combination with some written accounts, brilliant archeologist Jiří Sláma identified the initial power base of the Přemyslids as the area demarcated by the Libušín, Budeč, Mělník, Stará Boleslav, Levý Hradec, Tetín and Lštění boundary forts, built swiftly one after another at regular intervals, to protect access roads to Prague.[30]

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the question is whether or not this system differed from that in tenth-century Germany and to what extent this system was established (which the authors themselves de facto refuse). In this case, however, one cannot talk about a "specific Central European model". On Germany, see Gertrud E. Schrage, "Zur Siedlungspolitik der Ottonen: Untersuchungen zur Integration der Gebiete östlich der Saale im 10. Jh.," *BlldLG* 135 (1998): 189–268, at 251–255; Thomas Zotz, "Zur Grundherrschaft des Königs im Deutschen Reich vom 10. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert," in *Grundherrschaft und bäuerliche Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, edited by Werner Rösener, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 115 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 76–115.

[28] Ibid., 95–98. Cf. Dušan Třeštík and Miloslav Polívka, "Nástin vývoje české šlechty do konce 15. století," in *Struktura feudální společnosti na území Československa a Polska do přelomu 15. a 16. století*, edited by Ján Čierny, František Hejl, and Antonín Verbík (Prague: Ústav československých a světových dějin ČSAV, 1984), 99–133, at 102–103, with reference to the Bavarian environment and an estate discovered Pohansko.

[29] Josef Žemlička, "Das 'Reich' des böhmischen Boleslavs und die Krise an der Jahrtausendwende: Zur Charakteristik der frühen Staaten in Mitteleuropa," *AR* 47 (1995): 267–278. On an alleged extent of Great Moravia and various types of links which connected those regions, seeLubomír Havlík, "Územní rozsah Velkomoravské říše v době posledních let vlády krále Svatopluka," *Slovanské štúdie* 3 (1960): 9–80.

[30] Jiří Sláma, "K počátkům hradské organizace v Čechách," in Typologie raně feudálních slovanských států: Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference na téma 'Vznik a rozvoj slovanských raně feudálních států ve střední a jihovýchodní Evropě', edited by Josef Žemlička, (Prague: Ústav československých a světových dějin ČSAV, 1987), 175–182; Jiří Sláma, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku*, vol. 3, Archeologie o počátcích přemyslovského státu, Praehistorica 14 (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1988), 71–80. On the possible existence of similar system of hillforts in the South Bohemia, see Michal Lutovský, "Mezi Bavorskem a Moravou: Jižní Čechy v 9. století," in *Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem/Großmähren zwischen West und Ost: Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké koference*, edited by Luděk Galuška, Pavel Kouřil, and Zdeněk Měřínský, Spisy ArÚ AV ČR Brno (Brno: Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2001), 267–274; on the rejection of its existence in the North-West, see Petr Čech, "Mocenský vývoj v severozápadních Čechách do počátku 11. století," in *Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000: Na paměť knížete Boleslava II. († 7. února 999)*, edited by Luboš Polanský, Jiří Sláma, and Dušan Třeštík (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2000), 166–173. On the conclusions of the recent research of the Czech early medieval hillforts, see Michal Lutovský, "Od palisády k hradbě: Raněstředověká hradiště v Čechách ve světle

Furthermore, Jiří Sláma also proposes consideration of the possibility of a shift of ducal policy with the reign of Boleslav I (935–972). As Jiří Sláma puts it, Boleslav, in contrast to his older brother Wenceslas, did not mean to content himself with a formal upper hand over other Bohemian dukes and decided to directly subjugate the whole of Bohemia. So he conquered, as Jiří Sláma writes, castles of his opponents, destroyed those castles and built new ones in their vicinity for his people.[31]

In order to be able to discuss the concepts that are now relevant for interpretation of early medieval history of Bohemia we first focus on the importance of castles to early medieval realms and also on their connection with princes. Secondly we need to clarify the definition of retinue, which plays a significant role in many discourses of early medieval realm. Thirdly, we need to view the evidence of these retinues in early medieval realms and their logistical limits as well. Fourthly it is necessary to consider the objection against the evidence of large Přemyslid (or Piast) retinues in early medieval sources.

Naturally, no one can doubt the importance of monuments in the beginning of more complex societies. A few years ago anthropologists and archaeologists presented the useful concept of "materialization of ideology", which would have partially solved the question of the role of fortified settlements in the formation of power structures.[32] These researchers reckon with the existence of elites who, at a given point of social development, are forced to demonstrate their power by means of a certain type of material culture. Certainly, such efforts might be manifested in the building of fortified settlements, landscape monuments. Stable need of repairs

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archeologického bádání posledních dvou desetiletí," *AH* 31 (2006): 21–44. On the individual localities, with minor corrections to the chronology, see Ivana Boháčová, "Topografie a základní horizonty vývoje raněstředověké Staré Boleslavi," in *Stará Boleslav: Přemyslovský hrad v raném středověku*, edited by Ivana Boháčová, Mediaevalia archeologica Bohemica 5 (Prague: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 2003), 459–470; Andrea Bartošková and Ivo Štefan, "Raněstředověká Budeč: Pramenná základna a bilance poznatků; K problematice funkcí centrální lokality," *AR* 58 (2006): 724–757; Michal Lutovský, "K počátkům Tetína," *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 10 (2006): 845–852.

   [31] Jiří Sláma, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku*, vol. 2, *Hradiště, příspěvky k jejich dějinám a významu.* Praehistorica 11 (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1986), 59–60; vol. 3, 80–84. This concept also reckons with the intensification of the control over Bohemia proper under Břetislav I (†1055), see Josef Žemlička, "K dotváření hradské sítě za Břetislava I.: 'Přemyslovská' jména v názvech českých a moravských hradišť," *HDem* 28 (1995): 27–47. If the castles as the main buttress of the ducal power had already been built under Boleslav I (935–972), the sense of this tendency would be questionable.

   [32] Elisabeth DeMarrais, Luis J. Castillo, and Timothy Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," *Current Anthropology* 17 (1996): 15–32.

documented in many early medieval charters requested periodical amount of work done by neighboring communities.[33] Through these duties, power was regularly demonstrated on periphery, symbols of the ability to control the surrounding area and to make local inhabitants participate in construction.[34] Naturally, common duties could also strengthen the identity of wider social groups. This, indeed, implies the existence of structures of power in a given area before the emergence of the state. Furthermore, it does not rule out the possibility of the self-organisation of communities which built those settlements, so that strong central power might have been unnecessary in terms of the organisation of their construction.[35]

By the time of the twelfth-century historian Cosmas of Prague, castles were also acknowledged as a natural centre of power. That is the reason why he connected with them not only the contemporary Přemyslid princes, but also the mythical dukes from the ancient times.[36] Besides, Cosmas puts an interesting speech into the mouth of the magnate, Mztis,

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[33] Charles W. Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions on the Eve of the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 59–63; William H. Stevenson, "Trinoda necessitas," *EHR* 29 (1914): 689–703, at 696–702; George T. Dempsey, "Legal Terminology in Anglo-Saxon England: The Trimoda Necessitas charter," *Spaeculum* 57 (1982): 843–849. This obligation already appears in the late-eighth-century immunity charters from Mercia. The evidence of similar duties can also be found in the Frankish and even Czech environment, see the so-called "Náklo Supplement" in the charter for the Hradisko Monastery, see *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 79, 83: . . . *Nakel ea conditione, ut qui eam inhabitare deliberant, tributum et decimas beato Stephano solvant, ceteris vero ad imperium ducis bella exercentibbus sive urbem aut pontem parantibus seu qualibet necessitate laborantibus, quod prefati cenobii pater iusserit, faciant.*

[34] On the importance of the *topos* of the construction of towns, castles, moats and walls devoid of a defensive function, but with the role of the symbol of demarcation and authority—which also appears, although with negative connotations, in *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, edited by Bertold Bretholz, *MGH* SRG N.S. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), 1.19, 38–40—, see Bettina Pferschy, "Bauten und Baupolitik frühmittelalterlichen Könige," *MIÖG* 97 (1989): 257–328, at 289–293; and also Paulo Squatriti, "Digging Ditches in Early Medieval Europe," *PaP* 176 (2002): 11–65; on the example of the Bulgarians, see Paulo Squatriti, "Moving Earth and Making Difference: Dikes and Frontiers in Early Medieval Bulgaria," in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Florin Curta, Studies in the Late Antiquity and in the Early Middle Ages 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 59–90, esp. 81–90. About building of hillfort see useful monogram of Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, *Burgenbau und Landesverteidigung um 900: Überlegungen zu Beispielen aus Deutschland, Frankreich und England.* VuF Sonderband 16 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1975). On the relationship between the castle and its *suburbium* in Carolingian Europe, in the narrower as well as broader sense, see David Kalhous, "Suburbium als Phänomen der frühmittelalterlichen Schriftquellen," in *Burg, Vorburg, Suburbium: Zur Problematik der Nebenareale frühmittelalterlicher Zentren, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 7* (Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR Brno, 2008), 19–26.

[35] Conf. Addendum.

[36] *Cosmae Chronica*, 1.4, 10.

the keeper of a ducal castle: he mentions there that the castle belongs to the duke, who can manage it at will.[37] This would suggest that at least some castles had close relationships to the Duke. So, castles would have been not only residences of the "representatives" of the ruler's power, but also symbols of this power in the landscape. However, the evidence we have does not extend beyond the twelfth century and also the relationship between ducal castles, estates and villages is a subject of discussions.[38] Thus, an assessment of the functions of fortified settlements and their links to concrete social and political circumstances would require a considerable wealth of data that we have from Anglo-Saxon milieu for Mercia in the eighth century, or for the realm of Alfred the Great in Wessex in the second third of the ninth century,[39] or from Poland, but not from tenth-century Bohemia.[40] With the revision of the older excavation the concept of Early Přemyslid domain is shown to be flawed.

The question of what kind of group can be regarded as a retinue is also essential for the model of the "Early Medieval Central European State". The concept of the retinue already played a relatively significant role in the interpretation of Germanic society in the works of Germanists of the nineteenth century. Within the framework of this concept, the retinue

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[37] *Cosmae Chronica*, 2.19, 111.

[38] Libor Jan assumes early existence of an independent ruler's domain not only as a functional whole but also as a concept with its own structure of administration, see his monograph *Václav II.: Struktury panovnické moci* (Brno: Matice moravská, 2006). These conclusions ignited criticism, see Třeštík and Žemlička, "O modelech vývoje," 136–139, who—like, for Poland, Karol Modzelewski, "Grody i dwory w gospodarce polskiej monarchii wczesnofeudalnej, 1: Osady służebne a dwory książęce," *KwHKM* 21 (1973): 3–34; Karol Modzelewski, "Grody i dwory w gospodarce polskiej monarchii wczesnofeudalnej, 2: Gospodarcze funkcje organizacji grodowej," *KwHKM* 21 (1973): 157–188—believe that castles were primary central places and estates had economic functions only. The controversy consists in the question as to whether or not there existed an independent service system and ruler's domain was part of castle administration. However, Libor Jan shares with Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička the idea of strong early mediaval Přemyslid state, although he believes in great influence of the elites.

[39] Stephen Bassett, "Divide and Rule? The Military Infrastructure of Eighth- and Ninth-Century Mercia," *EME* 15 (2007): 86–106; Haslam, "King Alfred and the Vikings," 121–154. See also the analysis of the most important source, Burghal Hidage, David Hill, "The Burghal Hidage: The Establishment of a Text," *Medieval Archaeology* 13 (1969): 84–92.

[40] Most recently, see Michał Kara, "Anfänge der Bildung des Piastenstaates im Lichte neuer archäologischer Ermittlungen," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 5 (2000): 57–85. See also at least Zofia Kurnatowska, "Tworzenie się państwa pierwszych Piastów w aspekcie archeologicznym," in *Od plemienia do państwa: Śląsk na tle wczesnośredniowiecznej Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej*, edited by Lech Leciejewicz (Wrocław: Warsaw Uniwersytet Wrocławski and Polska Akademia Nauk, 1991), 49–76; Zbigniew Dalewski, "Między Gnieznem a Poznaniem: O miejscach władzy w państwie pierwszych Piastów," *KwH* 98, no. 2 (1991): 19–43.

was characterized as a group of freemen who were connected with their leader by means of specific "Germanic fidelity".[41] In a number of regards, the assumption of "fidelity"—*Treue*, is shattered by František Graus, who points out a compulsory element within the retinue and rejects the existence of a specific type of "Germanic fidelity".[42] He himself, however, does not propose any constructive definition of the notion, "retinue". On the contrary, his concept of "retinue army" indicates that he employs this term for any relatively stable group of warriors, without thinking about the relationships which allowed the group was able to exist, or how the characteristics of these ties changed in connection with the increasing number of these "retinues". Indeed, such a broadly and, what is more, inexplicitly defined, notion is not very useful. Moreover, Graus's polemic is rather close to the idea of the specific "Germanic fidelity". When it deals with the general notion of fidelity, it loses its force. For instance, František Graus draws attention to numerous cases of treason in various early medieval texts, but he does not pose the question as to why these texts condemned it. The only explanation might be that, in their understanding, "fidelity" played a key role in the co-existence of a certain community as, indeed, a sought-after ideal rather than as the real state of affairs. Henryk Łowmiański's concept seems to be more useful, but still remains too vague, for modern armies also fit into this definition.[43] That is why the condition of the informality of ties between the members of the retinue and its leader must be added to his specifications. In accepting this broadened definition, one must inevitably question the suitability of this notion for describing a mounted army of many thousands of warriors as an alleged "extended state retinue".[44]

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[41] E.g. in Walther Schlesinger, "Herrschaft und Gefolgschaft in der germanisch-deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte," *HZ* 176 (1953): 225–275. Already earlier, see e.g. Paul Roth, *Geschichte des Benefizialwesens von den ältesten Zeiten bis ins zehnte Jahrhundert* (1850; reprint, Aalen: Scientia, 1967), 18–22. The author also emphasizes the difference between the Germanic retinue of freemen and the Gallic retinue consisting as well of serfs and mercenaries.

[42] František Graus, "Über die sogenannte germanische Treue," *Historica* 1 (1959): 71–121, esp. 95–101 points out the existence of an immanent demand for fidelity, and (at 113–118) the significance of an ecclesiastical element. Cf. also František Graus, "Herrschaft und Treue: Betrachtungen zur Lehre von der germanischen Kontinuität, 1," *Historica* 12 (1966): 5–44; Hans Kuhn, "Die Grenzen der germanischen Gefolgschaft," *ZRG* GA 73 (1956): 1–83 with references to Gallic and Roman roots.

[43] Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 4, 150–192, esp. at 165–166.

[44] In fact, this difference reflect—"terminologically"—also early medieval sources from the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish environment, since they use the criterium of size, see at least *Lex Inne* in *Leges Anglo-Saxonum, 601–925*, edited by Karl A. Eckhardt, Westgermanisches

Although a compulsory element certainly played a significant role within the retinues, the ruler's retinue was also the milieu where young members of the elites established important contacts and, at the same time, represented the environment they came from.[45] Definitely, by means of anthropological and sociological enquiries, it would be necessary to answer the question of whether it is likely that new members were massively transformed from representatives of their families into blindly obedient instruments of the duke—enabling them to murder their relatives and completely alter the social order and furthermore allowing them to be kept as the ruler's "weapons" for a longer period of time.[46] The ties, established because of concentration of the elites in a particular place as well as advantages for the organizer of their meetings, were, beyond any doubt, more important.[47] The same holds true for the idea of close relationships between the Duke and members of the retinue who were sent to individual castles.[48] Although the existence of steady cores of the army formed by the ruler's retinue and retinues of individual headmen cannot be rejected, it follows from the aforementioned restrictions—as necessitated by the definition of the term, logistics and other elements—that those armies of many thousands could not have been retinues or even blindly obedient instruments of the Duke's regime.[49] Particularly in the

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Recht 4 (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1958), chap. 13.1, 143: "Thiefs are called those who amount to less than seven; from 7 to 35 *hloď*; above 35 *here . . .*"

[45] E.g. Vratislav Vaníček, "Šlechta a český stát za vlády Přemyslovců: K formování ideologie české šlechty od 11. do počátku 14. století," *FHB* 12 (1988): 65–122, at 67–69; see also Jan Adamus, "Problemy absolutizmu piastowskiego," *CzPrH* 10, no. 2 (1958): 19–76, at 48–58. Both authors point out that the retinue was not a slavish tool, since part of the retinue consisted of young noblemen.

[46] Adamus, "Problemy absolutizmu," 48–58. Třeštík and Žemlička suppose a certain dualism in the ruler's court and retinue. As to the eleventh and twelfth century, they consider existence of both clans of magnates and warriors, mostly of lower origin, directly subordinated to the ruler, see e.g. Třeštík and Polívka, "Nástin vývoje české šlechty," 106–107. In any case, the leading role of the central power is stressed. Most recently, see the summarizing polemic study Třeštík and Žemlička, "O modelech vývoje," 122–125.

[47] Similarly also Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 4, 175–176, who also criticizes overestimation of a role of the retinue within the formation of the state and emphasizes the consent of the dominated. This view is connected with the stress which the author puts on the role of the court as a crystallization core which allures magnates and makes them part of a broader environment, see ibid., 115–121.

[48] See at least Charles W. Hollister, "Magnates and 'Curiales' in Early Norman England," *Viator* 8 (1977): 63–81.

[49] This is closely related to the issue of chracteristics of leaders of retinues, institucionalized armies or, more generally, various types of authority, see Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1958), vol. 1, 122–176; ibid., 2, 603–612, 679–778.

age of limited possibilities of communication and, by extension, supervision, it was simply impracticable.

Apart from quite essential theoretical questions connected with the definition of the entire research field, a number of unexpressed assumptions have formed the basis of the whole concept. František Graus and his successors, without much reasoning, base their theories on the idea of the total predominance of a professional mounted army over an army of free infantrymen.[50] Also indirectly, he accepts the hypothesis of a similar revolutionary change that allegedly took place in the Frankish Empire at the beginning of the eighth century and led to a similar transformation of the Frankish social structure and the characteristics of warfare. Nevertheless, these premises, silently accepted, are worth discussing as well.

In the first place, the size of early medieval armies is a matter of fierce discussions. A seemingly brilliant source of information appears to be the so-called *Indiculus loricatorum* of 981, where the alleged sizes of equestrian troops sent to Italy in support of King Otto II are mentioned.[51] However, interpretation of this text is problematic as well. Individual troops amount to tens of men, but the total sum of horsemen is approximately 2,100. When regarding these troops as mere reinforcements, the total number of horsemen who might have been assembled from the Empire would have been much higher. At the same time, however, it would be impossible to estimate what portion of the "Imperial army" those 2,100 equestrians took up. On the other hand, the assumption that the whole Imperial army (or its substantial part) was concerned here, cannot be proved either.[52] And that is why Karl F. Werner uses another criterion regarding his estimation of the size of early medieval armies and the military potential of early medieval duchies—namely the number of administration units of

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[50] See Pavel Choc, *S mečem i štítem: České raně feudální vojenství* (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1967). This erudite work does not refer directly to Graus's concept but also reckons with large retinues of many thousands warriors, see ibid., 61–67.

[51] *Indiculus loricatorum Ottoni II. in Italiam mittendorum*, in *Constituciones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, vol. 1, Inde ab a. DCCCCXI usque a. MCXCVII, edited by Ludwig Weiland, *MGH* LL, Constituciones et acta publica imperatorum et regum 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1893), 633.

[52] Leopold Auer, "Der Kriegsdienst des Klerus unter den sächsischen Kaisern," pt. 1. *MIÖG* 79 (1971): 316–407, who has most recently analysed the *Indiculus*, proposes this, but the only argument is his own statement that 2,000 horsemen in armour are too many for mere reinforcements. In this way, however, one can prove anything, since the idea of the size of early medieval armies is taken for granted, without the need to substantiate this assumption.

the Carolingian Empire.[53] Because around 700 counties were known in his time and because he assumed the ability of an average county to mount at least 50 equestrians, Karl F. Werner calculates a total of 30,000 equestrians.[54] Nonetheless, he also points out that, in reality, no Frankish army reached such a number. In his opinion, the real number never exceeded approximately 10,000 men.[55] Bernhard S. Bacharach proposes another criterion. He points out an Anglo-Saxon Statute, which claimed that one meter of ramparts must be defended by one man.[56] He also proceeds from the length of the ramparts of individual North French *civitates* as given by Carlrichard Brühl.[57] On the basis of those data, he proposes the minimum size of their garrisons and the number of warriors needed for an effective siege.[58] In estimating the total size of the Angevine forces, he bases his calculations on the number of castles in their domain and on the premise that each of these strongholds had a garrison of 30–40 men.[59] He reaches the conclusion that, altogether, the Angevine forces amounted to 2–3,000 professional soldiers.[60]

The account by Widukind of Corvey can serve as a guideline for solving the question of the size of early medieval armies in different way. As mentioned above, Widukind refers to 50 equestrians, who decided the

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[53] Karl F. Werner, "Heeresorganisation und Kriegsführung im deutschen Königreich des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts," in *Ordinamenti militari in Occidente nell'Alto Medioevo*, vol. 2, *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 15.2 (Spoleto: Sede del Centro, 1968), 813–832. Similarly Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 57–59, and Bernard S. Bachrach, "Magyar-Ottonian Warfare: Á propos a New Minimalist Interpretation," *Francia* 27 (2000): 211–230.

[54] Werner, "Heeresorganisation und Kriegsführung," 813–832.

[55] Ibid., 813–832.

[56] Bernard Bachrach, "Angevin Campaign Forces in the Reign of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins, 987–1040," *Francia* 16 (1989): 78–82. The author uses Patrick Wormald, "The Burhs," in *The Anglo-Saxons*, edited by James Campbell (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1982), 152–153.

[57] Carlrichard Brühl, *Palatium und civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiken civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, *Gallien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1975). The idea of the continuity of the Roman fortifications has been recently supported by archaeological research, see Monika Porsche, "Römische Stadtmauern im Früh- und Hochmittelalter in Süd- und Westdeutschland," in *Zwischen Römersiedlung und mittelalterlicher Stadt: Archäologische Aspekte zur Kontinuitätsfrage*, edited by Sabine Felgenhauer-Schmiedt, Alexandrine Eibner and Herbert Knittler, Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich 17 (Vienna: Österreichische Gesellschaft für Mittelalterarchäologie, 2001), 103–115.

[58] On the example of Angers, see Bachrach, "Angevin Campaign Forces," 78–80. Bernard S. Bachrach, "Geoffrey Greymantle, Count of the Angevins, 960: A Study in French Politics," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 17 (1985): 3–67, at 4–9.

[59] Bachrach, "Angevin Campaign Forces," 82–84.

[60] Ibid., 81–82.

battle with their attack.[61] In his chronicle, he also describes the death of 50 warriors at the hands of the Slavs.[62] The fact itself that Widukind deals with this defeat, reflects the importance of the loss of such a number of soldiers in the milieu from which he came. Also when describing the conflict between Otto I and the Frankish rebel, Eberhard, he draws attention to 100 equestrians in the King's army.[63] Back in the Carolingian period, the image is similar.[64] Besides the aforementioned accounts regarding only the loss of a few warriors, the *Lex Inne* and some other barbarian legal codes also regard groups of tens of warriors as armies.[65] These conclusions are also confirmed by archeological and anthropological evidence. Statistics of the various types of injuries to over 30,000 buried individuals show that, in the majority of these, no connection with combat can be proven. Therefore, one must conclude that, despite statements of epics, chronicles, annals and also some modern historians, the early Middle Ages was a period of restrained violence and the size of contemporary armies did not exceed tens or hundreds of men.[66]

As far as the size of non-stationary early medieval armies is concerned, moderate estimates seem more likely—not just owing to logistical problems with supplies for the allegedly large armies, as mentioned above. Karl F. Werner's and Bernhard Bachrach's observations—if one accepts them—and also the fact that, in the Middle Ages, the regions of contemporary France, Germany and the United Kingdom were populated as densely as tenth-century Bohemia—would make it possible to think of a relatively great size of the Přemyslid armies. It would, however, mean that

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[61] *Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, edited by Paul Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann, *MGH* SRG 60 (Hannover: Hahn, 1935), 1.36, 53.

[62] Ibid., 3.45, 126.

[63] Ibid., 2.17, 82.

[64] Charlemagne writes to Fastrada after September 7th, 791, of the assault on an Avar stronghold and its plundering and mentions that "centum quinquaginta de ipsis Avaris vivos comprehendaerunt, quos reservaverunt, ut nostra fiat iussio, qualiter exinde debeat." See *Caroli Magni epistolae*, in *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. 2, edited by Ernst Dümmler *MGH* EE 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), no. 20, 528. The letter has been noted by Walter Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege Karls des Grossen, 788–803*, Militärhistorische Schriftenreihe 61 (Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag, 1988), 12–16. See Leyser, "Henry I", 23–25. Paradoxically, it is this study that serves as a basis of Třeštík's efforts to find analogies to the Great Moravian and Přemyslid "extended state retinue".

[65] See n. 44.

[66] Jana Krejsová – Petr Vachůt – Petr Hejhal, "Válečné konflikty v raně středověkých Čechách a na Moravě. Konfrontace archeologie a písemných pramenů," in *Funeralia Lednickie. Spotkanie bytomskie 10* (Poznań: Stowarzsenie naukowe archeologów polskich Odzial w Poznaniu, 2008): 385–412.

their opponents in the East might have had armies of a comparable size, too. Even if one assumes the existence of such large field armies in the early Middle Ages, this estimated size of Boleslav's army does not account for the success of his expansion, in other words the establishment of the "realm".

When considering the hypothesis of a large mounted army on the grounds of the given premises, one is confronted with the problem of the extent of the inhabited area in tenth-century Bohemia. Besides partial, yet relatively detailed probes,[67] only the 40-year-old work by Jiří Sláma is available today.[68] These works have the disadvantage of not having been based on a systematic surface exploration, which—with archaeological research directed only at inhabited areas, where preservation works are needed—substantially decreases the value of their evidence.[69] The area of Bohemia is equal to 52 000 km². At the same time, it has been surmised that only the core area around present-day Prague, surrounded by several strategically situated settlements, was the power base of the Přemyslids.[70] In the Early Middle Ages, the majority of this surface was covered with forests, while roughly one third was inhabited. Only a part of this third was actually intensively used.[71] It occupied a fifth of the whole area of Bohemia. Even if as much as a half of it was used for agriculture, the size of the potential pastures did not exceed 5,000 km², i.e. 500,000 hectares. Based on the methods of Rudi P. Lindner, this area was able to nourish

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[67] The most important works are Josef Bubeník, *Slovanské osídlení středního Poohří* (Prague: Archeologický ústav ČSAV, 1988); Jan Klápště, *Paměť krajiny středověkého Mostecka* (Prague: Archeologický ústav ČSAV, 1994); Tomáš Velímský, *Trans montes ad Fontes! K roli úsjezdů při středověkého kolonizaci středních a vyšších poloh na území severozápadních Čech* (Most: Ústav archeologické památkové péče severozápadních Čech, 1998). See also Milan Zápotocký, "Slovanské osídlení na Litoměřicku," *PA* 56 (1965): 205–385, with maps at 245–246; Zdeněk Boháč, *Dějiny osídlení středního Povltaví v době předhusitské*, Prameny a studie k dějinám osídlení 19 (Prague: Ústav vědeckotechnických informací pro zemědělství, 1978); Josef Žemlička, "Osídlení Zbraslavska od 10. do počátku 15. století," *PA* 65 (1974): 419–465; Josef Žemlička, *Vývoj osídlení dolního Poohří a Českého Středohoří do 14. století* (Prague: Academia, 1980), 5–73; Milan Zápotocký, "Slovanské osídlení na Děčínsku," *AR* 29 (1977): 521–553; Martin Ježek, "Jaroměřsko v raném středověku," *AR* 59 (2007): 523–570.

[68] Jiří Sláma, "Příspěvek k vnitřní kolonizaci raněstředověkých Čech," *AR* 19 (1967): 433–445.

[69] See Jan Frolík and Jiří Sigl, *Chrudimsko v raném středověku: Vývoj osídlení a jeho proměny* (Hradec Králové: Muzeum východních Čech, 1995), 5–7; Cf. also Jan Frolík and Jiří Sigl, "Development of Early Medieval Settlement and Related Structural Changes Within the Chrudim Region: A Research Contribution," *PA* 86 (1995): 63–104.

[70] Sláma proposed a widely accepted model, see Jiří Sláma, "K počátkům hradské organizace," 175–182; Sláma, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku*, vol. 3, 71–80.

[71] Zdeněk Boháč, "Postup osídlení a demografický vývoj Českých zemí do 15. století," *HDem* 12 (1987): 59–87.

approximately 50,000 horses, provided, however, that only horses were grazed there.[72] Considering that only a half of that was destined for horses, the number of horses amounts to 25,000, which corresponds to ca. 2,500 mounted warriors.[73]

A challenging task is the estimation of the size of the population. Zdeněk Boháč and Josef Žemlička, two Czech specialists in the history of settlement, propose two more or less extreme solutions. In Žemlička's opinion, there were no more than 7,500 persons in the fertile surroundings of Litoměřice, while numerous other significant settlement areas were inhabited to a limited extent only.[74] It follows that, with such limitations in the total number of inhabitants of the Bohemian area in the tenth century, one could speak of about 100,000 persons, at the maximum. When considering the number of inhabitants in the Duchy of Prague, Žemlička proposes in his excellent book an even more moderate estimate of population density. According to him, the size of the Central Bohemian domain was 3,000 km². With 6–7 persons per km², and including Prague, he deduces that the total number of inhabitants was approximately 22,000, out of whom, at the most, 3,700 free, non-professional warriors and 370 members of the duke's retinue were recruited.[75] Zdeněk Boháč estimates

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[72] Rudi P. Lindner, "Nomadism, Horses and Huns," *PaP* 92 (1981): 3–19, at 14–16 estimates that one horse requires at least 10 hectares of pasture to survive.

[73] Lindner, "Nomadism, Horses and Huns," 14–16 also points out that every Hun, Avar or Hungarian needed at least 10 horses in order to fight effectively on horseback. Also Pohl claims that e.g. the Avars took much more horses than needed in combat, but does not specify an approximate ratio of warriors and horses, see Walter Pohl, *Die Awaren: Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.* (Munich: Beck, 1988). Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 30 estimates the minimum size of herds of nomads at five to twenty-five horses.

[74] Žemlička, *Vývoj osídlení dolního Poohří*, 174–176 proceeds from the assumption that an area of roughly 7000 ha was used for growing grain in the region of Litoměřice in Northwestern Bohemia. He reckons on an amount of grain seeds of 200–350 l per hectare and estimates that the crop yield was two seeds out of one. With the consumption of 300–350 l per person and taking into consideration an obligatory payment in the form of the Episcopal tithe, he calculates that the surplus for consumption was 1.26–2.2 million litres of grain. That implies 4,200–7,350 inhabitants in the region of Litoměřice, dwelling in 111 settlements, each inhabited by 38–66 people. The settlements' existence is evidenced by both archaeological and written sources. According to these estimates, the population density in the inhabited areas of the Litoměřice region would have equalled 14–15 persons per km², after deducting the České Středohoří, the highland range in Northern Bohemia.

[75] Josef Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí* (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997), 36–37. As to the Poland, see Andrzej Nadolski, *Polskie siły zbrojne w czasach Bolesława Chrobrego: Zarys strategii i taktyki*, Acta Archeologica Universitatis Lodziensis 5 (Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1956), 20–21. On the basis of Łowmiański's estimations, the author reckons on approximately 1,125,000 inhabitants of Poland (4–5 persons per km²) in 18,750 families, of which one tenth might have been warriors. This corresponds to 18,000 warriors. With the

the number of inhabitants in Bohemia around the year 1050, one hundred years later, at 400,000 and presumes that the majority lived in the inner settlement area.[76] Thus all solutions indirectly show to what extent the premises which one applies can determine the results of an analysis. However, none of these analyses brings solid results. This impression confirms the historiography of the high and late Middle Ages.[77]

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given population density (4–5 persons per km²), a number of ihabitants of Bohemia would have been 200 000. Cf. Magdaléna Beranová, *Zemědělství starých Slovanů* (Prague: Academia, 1980), 252–253. In the case of the two-field system, the author estimates the crop yield at 0.25–0.3t per ha but does not mention the necessary amount of seeds. Nevertheless, as far as the land cultivation based on deforestation by branding is concerned, Josef Žemlička reckons that the yield was 20–90 grains out of one, which corresponds to 1–4.5t per ha out of 50kg of the sown seeds, see ibid., 300–301. However, these data cannot be accepted, since they are based on the analogies which are irrelevant to the Czech environment, see Vratislav Šmelhaus, *Kapitoly z dějin zemědělství a lesnictví v době předhusitské*, Prameny a studie Zemědělského muzea 21 (Prague: Zemědělské muzeum, 1980), 83–87. Most extensively on the crop-plants, see Barbara Krzemieńska, "Užitkové rostliny a rostlinná výživa raněstředověkých Čech," *Vznik a počátky Slovanů* 4 (1963): 132–179, at 152–157, who points out the overwhelming role of wheat in the Czech lands. More recently, see also Šmelhaus, *Kapitoly z dějin zemědělství*, 11–17. On horse and cattle breeding and poultry farming on the grounds of medieval handbooks, see ibid., 34–49. On an interesting method of calculation of the cultivated areas proceeding from the volume of the grain pits, see Jaroslav Kudrnáč, "Staroslovanské obilnářství v českých zemích," *PA* 49 (1958): 478–498. This work also contains reflections of the amount of seeds per ha in the early Middle Ages based on the 17th–18th-century parallels and the hypothesis of the continuity of the *korec* as a unit of area as well as volume of grain. Recently on the relationship between the arrangement of the grain pits—and the village as a whole—and the social structure, see Vladimír Nekuda, *Mstěnice: Zaniklá středověká ves u Hrutovic*, vol. 3. *Raně středověké sídliště* (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost; Moravské zemské muzeum, 2001), esp. 122–128, 151.

[76] Boháč, "Postup osídlení" presumes that the majority lived in the inner settlement area. (His datas paradoxically accepts Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí*, 18.) This would mean that, in the course of one century, the population of Bohemia increased four times. He bases his survey on a considerably high estimate of the number of settlements in Bohemia and on the average size of a settlement as having been 19 farm houses, each usually occupied by a family of four. Zdeněk Boháč, "Vesnice v sídelní struktuře předhusitských Čech," *HG* 21 (1983): 37–116, at 56–61. Nevertheless, the author based his conclusions solely on one charter.

[77] Jaroslav Mezník, "Markraběcí majetek na Moravě za vlády Jana Jindřicha," *MHB* 5 (1998): 47–66, at 57 estimates for Moravia, occupying a half of the area of Bohemia, 2,500 to 3,000 villages not before the middle of the fourteenth century. Also František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 1, *Doba vymknutá z kloubů*, 2nd ed. (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1993), 191–192, when considering the potential density and size of the population in the lands of Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and in the past also Silesia), is pronouncedly sceptical as to the high estimates and supposes that approximately 2,000,000 inhabitants lived in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia at the beginning of the 15th century, with a density of 18 persons per km². In this case, Bohemia would have been inhabited by approximately 1,000,000 people at that time. In his skepticism, Šmahel proceeded particularly from the evidence from rich Italy, where the land register of Florence of 1427 makes it possible to estimate the average population density at only 24 inhabitants per km². This Italian ana-

The same is true about the attempts to estimate the number of farm-ing households needed for supporting one member of elite. On one side, Zdeněk Smetánka discovered, on the basis of a charter to the Canons of Únětice of 1130—who can hardly be regarded as representatives of the highest social stratum—that roughly 2–3 peasant families were able to support one family which did not take part in agriculture. Thus one can conclude that the possible ratio of non-peasants to peasants was 20,000 to 40–60,000. Out of this number, the majority would have inhabited the old settlement area.[78] On the other side, Dušan Třeštík and Barbara Krzemieńska in their study on the economic basis of the early medieval state estimate on the basis of a study by Raoul van Caenegem that one monk was supported by at least 30 peasants.[79] Between these extreme solutions stands Vratislav Šmelhaus, who estimates the possessions of the Vyšehrad Chapter (17 canons) at 100–110 landed estates.[80] Indeed, several thousand horsemen might have been recruited from them under condi-tions of the Přemyslid rule over the whole of Bohemia. However, it is a vicious circle and the fact that the sizeable pastures necessary for thou-sands of horses have been neglected in the model presented here, does not make the situation any easier.

The existence of a system where garrisons of towns and castles con-sisted of a small stable troop, as well as of units from the surroundings allocated to a certain section of the ramparts, which interconnected a cas-tle and its surroundings, is implied in the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus as well, which mentions large troops allocated to Poznań, Gniezno, Giecz

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logy, however, has its weak points—it is not clear to what extent the settlement structure of the region might have been influenced by the existence of an enticing urban centre. Duby's findings, who on the grounds of Carolingian polyptychs assumes the population density in settlement areas at 25 to 40 inhabitants per km², urges caution, see Georges Duby, *Guerriers et paysans, VIIᵉ–XIIᵉ siècle: Premier essor de l'economie européene* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), 92–93, who also points out that rather small settlement regions were separated by quite uninhabited areas.

[78] Zdeněk Smetánka, *Legenda o Ostojovi: Archeologie obyčejného života*, 2nd ed. (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2004), 38–39 reckons that the crop yield was three grains out of one and that household consisted of five to six memebers and cultivated the area of 250a. He shows that the balance of energy of Ostoj's household must have been tight when the annual tax of 12 denarii is taken into account, see ibid., 74–77. Zdeněk Smetánka's solution I find the most probable.

[79] Krzemieńska and Třeštík, "Hospodářské základy," 206, n. 4, according to Raoul van Caenegem, "La diplôme de Charles le Chauve du 20 juin 877 pour l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin," *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* 31 (1963): 403–426, at 425. It is not quite clear if this means thirty peasants and their families or a group of thirty persons, only part of whom cultivated land.

[80] Šmelhaus, *Kapitoly z dějin zemědělství a lesnictví*, 46.

and other castles.[81] Also Thietmar of Merseburg points out warriors settled in the suburbs of Meissen.[82] Otto I's charter of 23rd April 961 mentions Slavs who can hide behind the ramparts of Magdeburg and other castles in return for paying the tithe.[83] In this case, too, it seems likely that those Slavs served as reinforcement forces for the castle defenders, although there is no clear evidence in this regard. Also the reform, as Widukind puts it, introduced by Henry the Fowler, took the same direction—every eighth man was obliged to serve at a castle.[84] Similarly, in Anglo-Saxon

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[81] *Galli Anonymi Cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, edited by Karol Maleczyński, MPH N.S. 2 (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1952), 1.8, 25–26: "De Poznan namque mille CCC⁰ loricati milites cum III᷉ᵒʳ milibus clipeatorum militum; de Gneznen mille quingenti loricati et quinque milia clipeatorum; de Wladislau castro octigenti loricati et duo milia clipeatorum; de Gdech CCC⁰ loricati et duo milia clipeatorum. Hii omnes fortissimi et ad bella doctissimi magni Bolezlaui tempore procedebant. De aliis vero civitatibus et castellis et nobis longus et infinitus labor est enarrare et vobis forsitan fastidiosum fuerit audire . . . Plures namque habebat rex Bolezlaus milites loricatos, quam habet nostro tempore tota Polonia clipeatos; tempore Bolezlaui totidem in Polonia fere milites habebantur, quot homines cuiusque generis nostro tempore continentur". In this work, the *gregarii milites* are mentioned (ibid., 1.20, 46), who evoke the *agrarii milites* of Widukind of Corvey, see n. 110. For the evidence of later times and its analysis, see Marek Barański, "Załogi grodowe w Polsce wczesnopiastowskiej," in Społeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej: Zbiór studiów, vol. 6, edited by Stefan K. Kuczyński (Warsaw: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe, 1994), 91–99. For 10th and 11th century France see, Bachrach, "Geoffrey Greymantle," 5–9.

[82] *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*, edited by Robert Holtzmann, *MGH* SRG N.S. 9 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), 5.9, 231–232. See Walter Schlesinger, "Burgen und Burgbezirke: Beobachtungen im mitteldeutschen Osten," in Walter Schlesinger, *Mitteldeutsche Beiträge zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht), 1961, 158–187, at 165–176.

[83] *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, edited by Theodor Sickel, *MGH* DD 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1879–1884), no. 222, 306: ". . . ad sanctum Mauricium in Magadaburg donavimus atque tradidimus decimam quam Sclavani ad eandem urbem Magadaburg pertinentes, nec non et etiam omnium Sclavanorum decimam ad civitatem Frasa pertinentium, insuper etiam et illam decimam quam Sclavani persolvere debent ad Barborgi civitatem pertinentes, similiter etiam et omnem decimam Sclavanorum ad civitatem quę dicitur Cauo pertientium ex integro donamus atque tradidimus ad sanctum Mauricium in Magadaburg. Hoc instantissime iubemus ut omnes Sclavani ad predictas civitates confugium facere debent, annis singulis omnem addecimacionem eorum plenissime ad sanctum Mauricium persolvant". For further details, see David Kalhous, "Suburbium als Phänomen," 19–26.

[84] *Widukindi Libri tres* 1.35, 48–49: "Igitur Heinricus rex, accepta pace ab Ungariis ad novem annos, quanta prudentia vigilaverit in munienda patria et in expugnando barbaras nationes supra nostram est virtutem edicere, licet omnimodis non oporteat taceri. Et primum quidem ex agrariis militibus nonum quemqe eligens in urbibus habitare fecit, ut ceteris confamiliaribus suis octo habitacula extrueret, frugum omnium tertiam partem exciperet servaretque. Ceteri vero seminarent et meterent fugesque colligerent non et suis eas locis reconderent. Concilia et omnes conventus in urbibus voluit celebrari; in quibus extruendis die noctuque operam dabant, quatinus in pace discerent, quid contra hostes necessitate facere debuissent". For the most recent interpretation, see Matthias Springer, "Agrarii milites," *NiedersächJbfLG* 66 (1994): 129–166, at 138–145. On the basis of the excerpts of further sources, the author points out that, in this context, the agrarii must be regarded

England, besides mercenaries,[85] there were, on the one hand, warriors for whom war was their way of life and who participated in all military campaigns as the so-called select *fyrd*, and, on the other hand, the general fyrd called to arms only in order to defend given areas, for instance, castles.[86] The select fyrd consisted of warriors who were called up, dependent on the size of the cultivated land—one man per five *hides* (land tax units).[87] Thus, the size and composition of armies differed essentially, according to a given situation. (The so-called *trimoda necessitas*, first appearing in Immunity charters at the end of the eighth century, included not only the obligation of military service, but also the duty to participate in the construction of fortifications and, potentially, in the repair of bridges).[88] Nevertheless, experts on Anglo-Saxon England claim that an essential role, maybe even the main role of the "army's backbone", was played by retinues of lords and the ruler.[89] This system did not differ much from the Carolingian one. Capitularies also required a certain number of warriors per *mansus* to be called up, dependent on the extent to which a given area was being menaced.[90] Alongside these warriors, the Carolingians (and rulers of individual duchies established after the fall of the Carolingian Empire) had retinues of Bishops, Abbots, and secular magnates at their

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as opposites to the "urbani", that is, not simply as warriors-peasants. And on the grounds of the *Libri traditionum* from the bishopric of Freising, he also shows the difference between the military service, which was better rewarded, and the land cultivation, see ibid., 145–150. He explains the term miles as "vassal", see ibid., 151–156. See Leyser, "Henry I", 11–42. Also Leyser's critics agree with this aspect of Henry's "reforms", see Bachrach, "Saxon Military Revolution."

[85] See Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions*, 16–24. According to this study, they were probably financed from the *Dane-/Heregeld*.

[86] Ibid., 27–31.

[87] Ibid., 24–27, 38–58; Charles W. Hollister, "Five-Hide Unit and the Old English Military System," *Spaeculum* 36 (1961): 61–74. The transformation of the meaning of the *hide*, from the foundations of a "building" to the "estate"—with kinship connotations—proves John F. McGovern, "The Hide and Related Land-Tenure Concept in Anglo-Saxon England, AD 700–1100," *Traditio* 28 (1972): 101–118.

[88] Cf. in n. 33.

[89] Richard P. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligations in Anglo-Saxon England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 161–171, 173–175, 179–185. Abels also points out the employment of the *housecarls*, king's men, in the collection of taxes. Nicholas Hooper, "The Housecarls in England in the Eleventh Century," in *Anglo-Norman Warfare: Anglo-Norman Studies in Late-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Military Organisation and Warfare*, edited by Matthew Strickland (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 1–16. The author only questioned the specific characteristics of the *housecarls* based on the relatively late Danish *Lex castrensis*, not their very existence.

[90] E.g. *Memoratum de exercitu in Gallia occidentali praeparando*, in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, edited by Alfred Boretius, *MGH* LL, Capitularia regum Francorum 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), vol. 1, no. 48, 134–135.

disposal.[91] The Ottonian army, too, consisted of retinues of the King and magnates, or freemen. According to Karl Leyser, to whom Dušan Třeštík refers, the significance of Henry I's reforms lay rather in a more intense training than in the formation of a large ruler's retinue.[92] We can also conclude that early medieval armies were hardly uniform organisms and only partially can bee seen as tool of social control in the hands of central power. There is, however, no serious doubt that armored equestrians and infantry freemen also differed socially.[93]

The distinction between the armies called up to defend their country and attack-oriented troops might account for contradictory pieces of information concerning the size of medieval armies. While economic conditions made it possible to call to arms numerous men in the event of an emergency for a short period of time, it was difficult to provide them with provisions in a concrete place: for this reason, Anglo-Saxon measures required, for instance, participation in defense, only if the warriors could return home on the same evening.[94] At the same time, it was necessary to occupy major strategic points, that is castles, which needed a considerable number of warriors for their defense, who did not always finally take part in combat. Besides these forces, there existed the select army, much more

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[91] *Karoli ad Fulradum abbatem epistola*, in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, no. 75, 168: "Quapropter precipimus tibi, ut pleniter cum hominibus tuis bene armatis ac preparatis ad predictum locum venire debas XV. Kal. Iul. quod est septem diebus ante missam sancti Iohannis baptiste."; *Chronicon Mediani monasterii*, edited by Georg Waitz, *MGH* SS 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 89: "Adversus quos cum etiam crebram aciem produceret, neque congressus illius laetos exitus haberet, praefatus abbas nimis continuata exactione militum in expeditione regali conpulsus, et maxime parricidalem dissensionem perosus, alam loricatorum quam solebat, id est 30 milites, cum consueto clypeatae manus numero in exercitum destinare noluit, orare se dicens regem, ne istiusmodi angariam imponeret militantibus Deo monasterio; ipse pocius ex facultate abbatiae utilitatibus consuleret propriiis."; On the military duties of the prelates in the Carolingian period, see Friedrich Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im früheren Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Rolle der Kirche beim Aufbau der Konigsherrschaft*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 2 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1971). On the situation in the 10th and 11th century, see Bachrach, "Angevin Campaign Forces," 78–84; Marjorie Chibnall, "Military Service in Normady before 1066," Anglo-Norman Studies 5 (1982): 1–25 points out the numerous *stipendiarii*, mercenaries, and, in contrast, rarely mentioned vassals; according to her, the retinues of secular barons played more important role than those of abbots and bishops.

[92] Leyser, "Henry I", 25–33. The fact should be taken into consideration that Henry already managed to pacify the magnates at the beginning of his reign, without this alleged instrument of power.

[93] Ibid., 16–25, 39–42. The vassals of the Corvey Monastery, obliged to do military service, were of both, free and unfree origin.

[94] Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions*, 27–31.

mobile and consisting of men trained in arms.[95] This army was made up of the King's retinue, significant magnates and, probably, also selected warriors of the general militia. It is likely that these well-trained men formed the cores of the garrisons.[96] Thus, despite amounting to thousands all over the country, the number which could actually be employed in a concrete campaign or battle depended on the given circumstances, mainly of a logistical nature.

There is also the question as to where the Přemyslids gained their means for arming such a large retinue. Concerning the price of horseman's equipment,[97] the information from the Carolingian *Lex Ribvaria* legal code is essential.[98] Horses and individual pieces of armour and equipment are evaluated therein.[99] According to this source, the price of a horseman's

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[95] To some extent, this system evokes the late Roman organisation of the army with its *limitanenses* a nd mobile elite troops. Considering that such configurations are relatively common, one cannot necessarily consider a genetic link.

[96] *Vita Corbiniani*, edited by Bruno Krusch, *MGH* SRM 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1913), chap. 23, 214: "Finem iam Baiuvariorum ingressus, ad Maiensen usque dum veniret castrum, de praepositis captus custodibus, nec ulterius transire sinbat eum, nisi ad eorum principem declinare voluisset, ibique nolens quamdiu coactus contentus est, usque dum illorum directus".

[97] The necessary equipment of a horseman is mentioned in Carolingian capitularies, see e.g. *Karoli ad Fulradum abbatem epistola*, in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, no. 75, 168: "Quapropter precipimus tibi, ut pleniter cum hominibus tuis bene armatis ac preparatis ad predictum locum venire debeas XV. Kal. Iul. Quod est septem diebus ante missam sancti Iohannis baptiste. Ita vero preparatus cum hominibus tuis ad predictum locum venies, ut inde, in quamcumque partem nostra fuerit iussio, et exercialiter ire possis; id est cum armis atque utensilibus necnon et cetero instrumento bellico, in victualibus et vestimentis. Ita ut unusquisque cabalarius habeat scutum et lanceam et spatam et semispatam, arcum et pharetras cum sagittis; et in carris vestris utensilia diversi generis, id est cuniada et dolaturia, tarratros, assias, fosorios, paleas ferreas et cetera utensilia que in hostem necessaria. Utensilia vero ciborum in carris de illo placito in futurum ad tres menses, arma et vestimenta ad dimidium annum.; Capitulare Aquisgranense."; Ibid., chap. 9, 171: "De hoste pergendi, ut comiti in suo comitatu per bannum unumquemque hominem per sexaginta solidos in hostem pergere bannire studeat, ut ad placitum denuntiatum ad illum locum ubi iubetur veniant. Et ipse comis praevideat quomodo sint parati, id est lanceam, scutum et arcum cum duas cordas, sagittas duodecim. De his uterque habeant. Et episcopi, comites, abbates hos homines habeant qui hoc bene praevideant et ad diem denuntiati placiti veniant et ibi ostendant quomodo sint parati. Habeant loricas vel galeas et temporalem hostem, id est aestivo tempore". Because of their frequent repetition Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege*, 12–16 believes that the regulations were badly observed.

[98] On this source, see Rudolf Buchner, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zur Lex Ribvaria*, *MGH*-Schriften 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1940); Friedrich-Wilhelm Henning, "Die germanischen Volksrechte als wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Quelle unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Lex Ribvaria," in *Studien zu den germanischen Volksrechten: Gedächtnisschrift für Wilhelm Ebel*, edited by Götz Landwehr, Rechtshistorische Reihe 1 (Frankfurt a. Main: Lang, 1982), 35–68. (Unfortunately, I did not have this study at my disposal.)

[99] *Lex Ribvaria*, edited by Franz Beyerle and Rudolf Buchner, *MGH* LL, Leges nationum Germanicarum 3.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1954), §40 (36).11, 94: "Equem videntem et sanam pro

equipment would have been around 25 *solidi*.[100] So the equipment of 3,000 equestrians would have cost approximately 75,000 *solidi*. Correspondingly, when proceeding from Třeštík's information on the price for a coat of silver armour of 1,950–3,250 *denarii* of 1.3g, the total sum is 3.5–7.5 t in silver.[101] It is not likely that, as Dušan Třeštík claims, those funds might have been gained from the slave trade. According to his estimates, the profits equaled the given sum, but only in 50 years.[102] This calculation apparently disagrees with Třeštík's idea of the speed of Boleslav's expansion, its forcible characteristics and, by extension, the immediate need to establish a large and properly armed "state" retinue,[103] in the sense of the conception of František Graus.[104]

Timothy Reuter, on whose work Dušan Třeštík partly bases his reasoning, considers that tributes played the key role in the subsistence of Frankish warriors. However, he thus implicitly proceeds from quite an absurd idea of the ability of barbarian populations in the East to survive plunder by numerous Frankish retinues (and also by their own elites). At the same time, he denies the same ability of the Frankish local population. Otherwise, the hypothesis proposed by him would inevitably mean a permanent famine to the east of the Elbe.

What is more, another question emerges: how was it possible to rule effectively with such a limited ducal apparatus over such a considerable population? How was it possible, from a purely military perspective, to conquer neighbours with similar capabilities for keeping large armies? And, above all, how was it possible to control them in the long-term? Regarding subsistence, Třeštík's idea of the genesis of a "Central European state" is probably untenable. The gathered data also undermine the idea of its organisation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The more probable scenario is, that the expeditions of expanding "realms" gave their elites the possibility to strengthen their self-confidence and identity through

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septem solid. tribuat. Equam videntem et sanam pro tres solidos tribuat. Spatam cum scogilo pro septem solid. tribuat. Brunia bona pro duodecim solid. tribuat. Helmo condericto pro sex solid. tribuat. Scuto cum lancia pro duos solid. tribuat".

[100] Ibid., §40 (36). 11, 94: "Vaccam cornutam videntem et sanam pro uno solido tribuat".

[101] Třeštík, " 'Eine große Stadt," 125–128.

[102] Ibid., 126. Michael McCormick has recently argued in favour of the crucial role of the slave trade in the Carolingian period, which corresponds with Třeštík's earlier reflections, see Michael McCormick, "New light on the 'Dark Ages': How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy," *PaP* 177 (2002): 17–54.

[103] Třeštík, " 'Eine große Stadt," 103. The author refers to a quick expansion, which he dates between 935 and 950.

[104] Graus, "Raněstředověké družiny," 5.

intensified communication and common action. Later, this common feel-ing could have been shattered because of fights between the members of Carolingian dynasty and because of lost battles against the external ene-mies. However, the much smaller Přemyslid duchy survived its decline.

The question remains open about the general significance of the infan-try in early medieval warfare. Paradoxically, it is a problem which Czech (and, in many regards, even general) historiography has not analysed in detail.[105] It is probably unnecessary to emphasize its quite limited impor-tance regarding the siege of castles.[106] For Dušan Třeštík, however, the conquest of strongholds played a crucial role in Boleslav's strategy. In his opinion, St. Wenceslas (†935) contented himself with the general accep-tance of his overlordship, while Boleslav (935–972) conquered his oppo-nents, destroyed their castles and erected new ones nearby.[107]

The theory of the maximum effectiveness of the armoured cavalry cannot be easily utilized, even when considering the classic battlefield.[108] Pieces of evidence proving its maximum effectiveness are scarce and their

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[105] For certain logistical restrictions see Bernard S. Bachrach, "Animals and Warfare in Early Medieval Europe," in *L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto medioevo, 7–13 Aprile 1983*, vol. 1, Settimane di Studio italiano sull alto medioevo 31.1 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1985, 707–750; Carroll Gillmor, "War on the Rivers: Viking Numbers and Mobility on the Seine and Loire, 841–886," *Viator* 19 (1986): 79–119. In the following reflections the fact is not taken into consideration that the humans as well as the horses of the time were smaller. One may suppose that the ratios basically remain the same. With a horse having a maximum carrying capacity of 90 kg, on average 70 kg, and with the consumption of 5 kg of grain a day by each horse, 70 horses would be needed to carry the load of daily fodder for the horses of 1000 riders. Bacharach also calculates the operating range of a horse-drawn carriage, dependent on grain: it was 1,200 km, provided that the horses pulled only their fodder and did not rest. Thus, according to Bacharach, even the use of carriages does not make the solution of the issue any easier. Horses also cannot be used in difficult ter-rain, in contrast to unmounted warriors. And when horses are to be employed in combat, it is not possible to travel more than 30 km a day, which, however, does not much exceed the speed of infantrymen.

[106] On the West Frankish Kingdom, see Bernard S. Bachrach, "Angevin Campaign Forces in the Reign of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins, 987–1040," *Francia* 16 (1989): 67–84, at 76–82.

[107] Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců: Vstup Čechů do dějin, 530–935* (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997), 535–935, 435–438.

[108] It is worth mentioning at this point that recent research connects the genesis of the classic type of knightly combat, that is, the couched lance technique, with late-eleventh-century Normandy, and its spread with the following century, see Jean Flori, "Encore l'usage de la lance: La technique du combat chevaleresque vers l'an 1100," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale Xᵉ–XIIᵉ siécles* 31 (1988): 213–240.Enthusiastic comments on the force of the armoured cavalry usually originate from the East, see e.g. Anna Komnene, *Paměti byzantské princezny*, translated by Růžena Dostálová (Prague: Odeon, 1996), 13.8.3, 396–397.

interpretation, as shown below, is not devoid of problems.[109] Allegedly, an account by Andrew of Fleury (eleventh century) belongs here. In his *Miracles of St. Benedict*, he describes an encounter of a large army assembled by Archbishop Aimon of Bourges for the purpose of facilitating a truce with God.[110] The defeat of Aimon's army is explained as the proof of the superiority of the knights over untrained unmounted freemen[111]— until Andrew's evidence of the battle was analysed in detail and placed into the context of his whole work.[112] Comparison of Aimon's depiction

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[109] It is again a relatively old hypothesis—the author of the final version was Heinrich Brunner (1840–1915), see Heinrich Brunner, "Der Reiterdienst und die Anfänge des Lehnswesens," *ZRG* GA 8 (1887): 1–38. He thought that during Charles Martel's rule, the foot army of Frankish freemen was transformed into a cavalry army of majordomus vassals that enabled the majordomus to win over Arabic invasion 732. The criticism of this concept was presented by Bernard Bachrach in his polemic against the "technological variant" of Brunner's hypothesis , cf. Bernard S. Bachrach, "Charles Martell, Mounted Shock Combat, the Stirrup, and Feudalism," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 7 (1970): 47–75. Against technical determinism of Lynn White, see also the Marxist work Rodney H. Hilton and Peter H. Sawyer, "Technical Determinism: The Stirrup and the Plough," *PaP* 24 (1963): 90–100, at 90–95. This is one of the reasons why Matthew Strickland points out that, despite the fact that the Anglo-Saxons were familiar with horse-riding and the warriors employed horses for transportation, they managed to fight without horses. The reason for this, however, was not ignorance, but rather a culturally determined lack of interest. This historian also rejects the idea of a total distinction between stone castles and forts built out of wood and clay, with reference to the great effectiveness of older strongholds. See Matthew Strickland, "Military Technology and Conquest," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19 (1997): 353–382; similarly on the castles in the Czech lands, see Jan Klápště, "Dvě miniatury o proměnách středověké střední Evropy," in *Verba in imaginibus: Františku Šmahelovi k 70. narozeninám*, edited by Eva Doležalová, Martin Nodl, and Petr Sommer (Prague: Argo, 2004), 61–67. On the importance of horses in Anglo-Saxon society, see Sarah L. Keefer, "Hwer Cwom Mearh? The Horse in Anglo-Saxon England," *JMedH* 22 (1996): 115–134. Strickland's remarks are valuable, especially because they are related to the environment in which relatively firm power and social structures existed. They relativise the significance of a certain sort of military organisation for the establishment of those structures, which also concerns the early Přemyslid Duchy. His conclusions are also indicative of the possibility that the growing importance of cavalry in Frankish empire in the 8th century was more result of social processes connected with the redefinition of elites than the change in military strategy only.

[110] *Andreae monachi Floriacensis Miracula s. Benedicti*, edited by Eugène de Certain (Paris: Renouard, 1858), 2.4, 196–197: "Porro adrversae partis populus multo se inferiorem prospiciens, cum illo numero maris supererarent, arenam, id consilii capiunt ut pedites, ascensis quibuscumque animalibus, mediis militum se miscerent cohortibus, ut tam ex figurata specie equitandi quam ex oppositione armorum milites arbitrarentur ab illis. Nec mora, ad duo millia plebeia multitudinis, ascensis asinis, medio equitum ordine partiuntur, equestri. Sed illi expavescentes, fugam per ripas Kari fluminis arripiunt . . ."

[111] E.g. Thomas Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princenton: Princeton University Press, 1994). On the role of infantry, see Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare*, 55–79.

[112] Thomas Head, "The Judgement of God: Andrew's of Fleury's Account of the Peace League of Bourges," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religius Response in France*

with the account of the author of the *Chronicon Dolense*, who describes the battle as a confrontation of two armies of similar strength, shows that Andrew stylised his narration in the sense of a punishment for the violence which the participants of the campaign committed against their opponents in previous combats.[113] The description of the battle scheme refers to a perverse world order which is returned to a proper state with God's help, rather than the real course of the battle.[114] So the battle cannot be regarded as proof of the superiority of an army of knights.

From our point of view, it is important to note one more time a battle described by Widukind of Corvey, a tenth-century chronicler from Saxony.[115] According to him, it was the cavalry that commenced the combat. Nonetheless, it was easily forced back by the Slavic infantry; so it returned to the rest of the army with strategic information.[116] Subsequently the infantry took part in the battle, allegedly with great casualties. Finally a group of 50 equestrians attacked again and disrupted the battle formation of the Slavs.[117] Thus the cavalry played an essential role in battle, but as a tactical means of an abrupt attack on an exhausted enemy, rather than as an omnipotent instrument of victory.

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around the Year 1000, edited by Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 219–238.

[113] *Ex Chronico Dolensis Coenobii*, edited by Léopold Delisle, Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum scriptores 11 (Paris: L.F. Delatour, 1882), 387–388: "1033 Odo comes Campagniensis ab imperatore interfectus est: et Ebo filius Odonis senioris Dolensis a vicecomite Gaufrido Bituricensium interfectus est. Et ipso anno necdum finito, mense Januario, XVIII die ipsius, hoc est XIV Kalendas Februarii, bellum cruentissimum fuit actum inter eundem Odonem seniorem ducem Dolensem, et episcopum Aimonem et Vicecomitum Gaufridum Bituricensem; sed Domino pro eodem Odone seniore mirabiliter pugnante, eos stravit. Nam ubi phalangas ejus eorum exercitus aspexit, nimio terrore correpti, cum suis principibus in fugam conversi, se praecipites in flumine, qui vocatur Carus unus super alium dederunt, exceptis iis gladiis trucidavit: ipse vero Episcopus in ipso proelio vulneratus, nec tamen mortuus, armis relictis, et ipse et alii per fugam elapsi euaserunt". See Thomas Head, "The Judgement of God," 223–226.

[114] Thomas Head, "The Judgement of God," 226–235.

[115] *Widukindi Libri tres* 1.36, 53.

[116] Ibid., 1.36, 53: "In prima quidem fronte legatus in barbaros impetum faciens, sed cum pauci non prevalerant adversus innumerabiles, reversus est ad exercitum referens, quia barbari non plures haberent equites, peditum vero innumerabilem multitudinem et nocturna pluvia in tantum inpeditam, ut vix ab equitibus coacti ad pugnam procederent". The mention probably concerns the so-called reconnaissance by combat. The reference to the hordes of barbarians is a commonplace.

[117] Ibid., 1.36, 53: "Cumque iam bellum gravaretur, et multi hinc atque inde caderent, et adhuc barbari ordines tenerent, legatus collegam, ut legionibus auxilio esset, expostulat. Ille vero prefectum cum quinquaginta armatis lateri hostili inmisit et ordines conturbavit; ex hoc caedi fugaque tota die hostes patebant".

The Battle of Hastings 1066, is considered another significant proof of the superiority of the armoured cavalry. Actually, William's victory was determined, to a large extent, by tactical advantage and trickery—not by the attack of the cavalry. It is also not appropriate to speak of the superiority of equestrian professionals over infantry "recruits", since the core of both armies is likely to have consisted of trained warriors.[118]

The aforementioned evidence shows that, even though the mounted armies formed a non-substitutable element of early medieval warfare, the idea of their total superiority in combat cannot be accepted. So the employment of an equestrian retinue was not the only instrument for the occupation and pacification of an area.

Even the proposed high level of organisation of Boleslav's domains, as opposed to other countries to the East of Bohemia cannot serve as an indubitable argument for the success of the potential expansion of the Bohemian dukes. At this point, one may point out the ferocity of the struggles of the Saxons, supported by other duchies, against the Polabian Slavs. Despite unrelenting pressure, those areas were subjugated only after more than 150 years of fighting. Paradoxically the Ottonian kings achieved the most remarkable success in the tenth century, when the Slavic countries were ruled by ducal dynasties prone to submit under pressure. Also subjugation of Alemanni, or Saxonia was a gradual process, consequent to the unquestionable victory of the Carolingians and the alleged destruction of the local elites in 741.[119] Furthermore, the existence of a certain level of political organisation in the area of the present-day Lesser Poland makes it possible to reckon with a political stratagem which, consequently, might

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[118] *The Carmen de Hastingae proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, edited by Frank Barlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 26; *Williami Malmesburiensis Gesta regum Anglorum*, vol. 1, edited by Roger A.B. Myners, Rodney M. Thompson, and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 3.242, 454; *The Gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, vol. 2. edited by Elizabeth M.C. van Houts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 7.15 (36), 168–170. The possibility of the execution of this manoeuvre in battle is discussed in Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Feigned Retreat at Hastings," *Medieval Studies* 33 (1971): 344–347. The author's opinion concerning this question is affirmative. On the battle, see also Sten Körner, *The Battle of Hastings, England, and Europe, 1035–1066*, Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis 14 (Lund: Gleerup, 1964), 255–266. The author points out Wilhelm's cautious approach. On the most important source, the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio*, see John C. Hirsch, "Church and Monarch in the Carmen de Hastingae Proelio," *JMedH* 8 (1982): 353–357.

[119] Cf. Michael Borgolte, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit*, VuF Sonderband 31 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1984); Hagen Keller, "Fränkische Herrschaft und alemannisches Herzogtum im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert," *ZfGORh* 124 (1976): 1–30; Caspar Ehlers, *Die Integration Sachsens in das fränkisches Reich* (Göttingen: Wandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

have facilitated negotiations and the relatively fast subjugation of these regions by the Přemyslids and Piasts, respectively.

So far the limitations of the concept of "State Retinue" and its importance in the beginning of Přemyslid duchy have been discussed. Now those few sources of evidence which form the basis of František Graus and Dušan Třeštík's hypotheses will be analysed. In particular, the question of the gradual and inevitable nature of the development of the retinue and the idea of the "extended state retinue" will be dealt with—especially since Dušan Třeštík himself supposes great shifts between the expansive "empire" of Boleslav I (935–972) and more intensively ruled "Czech state" of his eleventh-century successors.

Because Great Moravia is characterized in Dušan Třeštík's work as a model for "realms" of Přemyslids, Piasts and Arpadians, it is necessary to mention known sources about its warfare. Allegedly, the earliest witness is Ibn Rustah, a Persian geographer at the turn of the ninth and the tenth centuries. He mentions that duke of Moravians Svatopluk I (871–894) had horses and arms at his disposal.[120] Nevertheless, he does not refer to a monopoly on horse breeding. On the contrary, he connects it with notable men, in general terms.[121] Thereby, he disproves the idea of Svatopluk's monopoly on horse breeding, supposed by Dušan Třeštík. The Persian geographer does not mention Svatopluk's large mounted army either.

In contrast, an account in the Annals of Fulda,[122] describing an assault on a wedding procession on its way from Bohemia to Moravia, may provide proof of the existence of mounted warriors. This account, nonetheless, does not specify any relationship of those equestrians to the Duke of Moravia and it is even possible that the attacking horsemen originated

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[120] *Ibn Rusty Kitāb–al'lāq an–nafisa*, translated by Ján Pauliny, in Ján Pauliny, *Arabské správy o Slovanoch, 9.–12. storočie* (Bratislava: Veda, 1999), 99: "This ruler has a wealth of riding horses and his dishes are made of mare's milk. He has excellent, strong and precious armours and the town in which he resides is called Girwab," Alexander Ruttkay, "The Organisation of Troops, Warfare and Arms in the Period of the Great Moravian State," *Slovenská archeológia* 30 (1982): 165–198 accept tripartite organisation of Great Moravian troops.

[121] Ibid., 99: "They have few beasts of burden and only significant persons possess horses."

[122] *Annales Fuldenses*, edited by Friedrich Kurze. *MGH* SRG 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), 871, 75: "Interea Sclavi Marahenses nuptias faciunt, ducentes cuiusdam ducis filiam de Behemis; quod cum supradicti viri, id est Arn et [alii], qui cum eo erant, comperissent, illico armati adversarios sequebantur. Illi autem fugientes ad valum memoratum ignari venerunt; ibique propter (angustiam) loci [angustiam] equis et armis derelictis vix nudi evaserunt. Nostrates vero supervenientes DCXLIIII equos cum frenis et stellis atque eiusdem numeri scuta, quae fugientes dimiserant, invenerunt; et haec nullo resistente tollentes ad castra laeti reversi sunt".

from Bohemia. So the abovementioned passage from the Annals of Fulda cannot serve as proof of the formation of a strong "state retinue". On the contrary, if those 600 equestrians had originated from Prague or another important contemporary centre in Bohemia, Kouřim, the Annals would provide evidence against the idea of an inevitable link between the origins of the Přemyslid "realm" and the establishment of a large mounted army, because that allegedly large retinue appears in sources substantially earlier than under the reign of Boleslav I (935–972).

In the end, only warrior graves from the south suburbium of the castle in Pohansko,[123] together with rather rich graves in other Moravian castles, serve as the indubitable evidence of Moravian mounted warriors settled in those castles. Nevertheless, their relationship to the duke is almost unknown and the stirrups found in the graves signaled the status of the buried person, especially of the children. In the assessment of their status, archaeological research proceeds from the rather questionable results of history.[124]

Widukind mentions a "legion" of select warriors sent by Boleslav I (935–972) to aid Otto I (936–973) at the Battle of Lechfeld in 955 and also refers to an army that fought with the Hungarians several days later.[125] This account, too, supports Graus's hypothesis, for it indicates the existence of a large Přemyslid army. However, sources do not convey whether these were horse or foot and whether or not these troops were a ducal retinue. Beyond any doubt, in contrast, Widukind mentions Boleslav's cavalry when referring to "two troops of horsemen" sent by Boleslav I (935–972) to support his son-in-law, Mieszko (968–992).[126]

By this statement, Widukind undermines the testimony of Ibrahim ibn Jaʿkúb, who—according to al-Bakri—wrote: "Mieszko levies taxes in market coins and pays his soldiers from it. . . . Mieszko has three thousand armoured warriors. A hundred of them correspond to a thousand other soldiers. Mieszko gives clothes to his soldiers and provides them

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[123] The suburb is examined in Jana Vignatiová, *Pohansko*, vol. 2, *Slovanské osídlení jižního předhradí* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1992); see also the more recent work Macháček, *Pohansko bei Břeclav*, 221–229.

[124] Generally, however, the placement of a sword to the grave can be regarded as the sign of the status and does not necessarily refer to the function of the warrior. This holds true especially of the rich graves of children, see below, pp. 109–111.

[125] *Widukindi Libri tres*, 3.44, 125: "In octava erant Bohemi, electi milites, armis potius instructi quam fortuna; . . ."; *Annales Sangallenses maiores*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, *MGH* SS 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1826), 79: "Et aliud bellum cum eis gerebatur a Poemanis, ubi comprehensus est rex illorom nomine Lelel, extinctu exercitu eius".

[126] *Widukindi Libri tres*, 3.69, 144.

with everything they need . . ."[127] This version, however, must be compared with another reading of Ibrahim's account, extant in a work of al-Qazwini. Here Ibrahim points out the infantry character of Mieszko's army, which was equipped with horses only in the event of emergency.[128] In contrast to the viewpoints of modern researchers, according to neither tradition did Mieszko have a mounted retinue at his disposal. The value of Ibrahim's evidence is, nevertheless, undermined by a number of aspects. First of all, it is unclear whether or not he visited Mieszko's realm. Secondly, Ibrahim's work as such does not exist any more, it has survived only in excerpts that vary in terms of their content, which, indeed, demonstrate the points discussed here. Thirdly, Ibrahim came from a completely different cultural environment and it is difficult to estimate to what extent his work shows him as a skilful observer or as a prisoner of the culture from which he came.

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[127] *Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿqūba al–Isrāʾīlī at–Turtūšī Dikr as–Saqāliba*, translated by Ján Pauliny, in Ján Pauliny, *Arabské správy o Slovanoch, 9.–12. storočie* (Bratislava: Veda, 1999), 117. It is known that Ibrahim ibn Jaʿkúb was a Muslim convert of Jewish origin, coming from the present-day Tortosa. With regard to his aforementioned meeting with Otto I, he might have been a member of the entourage of al-Hakam II (961–976) in 965–966. Why he travelled across Europe, whether as a merchant or an envoy, is unclear. The fact that the excerpts of his work have not been published as a whole makes the situation even more complicated. Scholars of various national historiographies have been attracted only by those passages that somehow concern the regions of their interest. See further in text and Abdurrahman A. El-Hajjī, "Al-Turtushī, the Andalusian Traveller, and His Meeting with Pope John XII," *Islamic Quaterly* 11 (1967): 129–136, at 132–136. The author mentions the passage dealing with Abraham's meeting with King ar–Rūm—probably Pope John XII— in the 350th year of the hijra (from February 20th 961 to February 8th 962). Since Abraham met Emperor Otto I only several years later, and thus stayed abroad for a long time, El–Hajī believes that Abraham was rather a traveller without a fixed time schedule rather than an envoy of the Caliph. Třeštík, in contrast, considers Abraham—without a closer justification—as an unofficial envoy and merchant and thus concludes that he could not have travelled for such a long time as El-Hajī states. Dušan Třeštík regards the mention of the meeting with the King *ar-Rūm* in Rome as al-Udrī's addition and claims that al-Udrī believed that Abraham had visited the "ruler of the Romans" and thus must have met him in Rome, see Třeštík, " 'Eine große Stadt," 111; Maria Kowalska, *Średniowieczna arabska literatura podróżnicza*, Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersyteta Jagiellońskiego 317, Práce historycznoliterackie 25 (Cracow: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 41–47.

[128] *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʾkūba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie al-Bekrīego*, edited by Tadeusz Kowalski, MPH N.S. 1 (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1946), 91: "Mᵉško. A large city in the lands of the Slavs, to the south of the sea, in the middle of thick forests, where armies march with difficulty. The name of its king is Mᵉško; it is called after him. It provides honey, meat and fish to eat. Their king has only infantry at his disposal, since horses are not available in those lands. The taxes collected in his land belong to him. He pays his troops every month and if need be, he gives them horses, saddles, bridles, weapons and all they need."

As Ibrahim was used to naming his sources—if not drawing informa-
tion from his own experience—it seems that he really did visit Mieszko's
realm. Even the suspicious survival of his work does not fully diminish its
authenticity: individual versions usually do not exactly correspond to one
another. On the other hand, however, there is no contradiction between
them. Evidently, those who used his work chose pieces of information at
their discretion but did not modify them substantially.

It remains to ascertain in what measure Ibrahim was able to free himself
from the culture in which he grew up.[129] One may surmise a certain idea
of the extent of Ibrahim's independence of thought only from an analysis
of his work, with special regard to those phenomena in which he himself
was interested. Passages concerning the Slavic lands convey how broad
his interests were: he describes plants grown by the Slavs,[130] diseases they
suffer from,[131] customs they preserve.[132] He also mentions goods[133] that are
produced and traded with, prices of various kinds of goods, and distances
between individual settlements.[134] His ability to distinguish between data
from diverse sources is reflected in the fact that he, in several parts of his
work, points out that he is taking over a given piece of information. In
his description of Bulgaria, Ibrahim explicitly emphasizes that he has not
visited that country, but gathered his knowledge from reports of Bulgar-
ian envoys at Otto I's Court in Magdeburg.[135] He similarly begins with his
account of a town of women, gained from Otto I himself. This nonetheless
also indicates that he trusted such second-hand information.[136] Thus, one
cannot exclude the possibility that Ibrahim trimmed Mieszko's retinue
on the pattern of the guards of the Umayyad Caliphs. In that case, how-
ever, it would have been rather the period when he lived and grew up in
contemporary Spain than a previous experience that strongly influenced

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[129] See for different approaches to the "others" Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of
America: The Question of the Other* (New York: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Arnold
Esch, "Anschauung und Begriff: Die Bewältigung fremder Wirklichkeiten durch den
Vergleich in Reiseberichten des späten Mittelalters," *HZ* 253 (1991): 281–312.

[130] *Zpráva Ibráhíma ibn Jaʿkúba*, translated by Ivan Hrbek, *MMFH* 3 (Brno: Universita
J.E. Purkyně, 1967), 418.

[131] Ibid., chap. 13, 417.

[132] Especially in the analysis of these passages, it would be appropriate to examine his
work in the wider context of Arab and Greek-Latin geography.

[133] Ibid., chap. 6, 413–414.

[134] Ibid., chap. 3–5, 412–413; ibid., chap. 7, 414.

[135] Ibid., chap. 9, 415.

[136] *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba*, 50: "Ibrahim, the son of Jacob, Israelite, said: 'The
account of the town [of women] (is) true; Hotto, King of Rum, told me about it.'"

Ibrahim's work. In his time, similar elite troops of mercenaries formed the power base of Umayyad rulers in a flourishing period, that is, especially under Abd ar-Rahman III (912–961), the first Hispanic Caliph, and later under Vizier al-Mansor (981–1002), an unofficial Head of the Empire.[137] Owing to the scant evidence of his own work, one cannot decide whether Ibrahim interpreted Mieszko's retinue from the viewpoint of a subject of the Umayyads, or was able to free himself from his previous experience in this case. Still, it is possible to accept Ibrahim's statement and assume that Mieszko really had an armoured army at his disposal. The only thing that raises doubts at first glance is the numbers given by Ibrahim.

However, the *Gesta* of Gallus Anonymus († c. 1117) seems to support the credibility of Ibrahim's evidence. The first book of the *Gesta* mentions a considerable number of warriors, allegedly supported at Boleslav I the Brave's (992–1025) castles.[138] Nonetheless, in this case one must realize several facts that determine the value of this account. First of all, Gallus, who connects the existence of a large Polish army with the rule of Boleslav the Brave, lived approximately a century after this duke. In addition, the main motive must be taken into consideration which moved Gallus to write his work, namely to praise the great Piast dukes, including Boleslav I the Brave (992–1025).[139] Both aspects necessarily undermine the trust in the reliability of the chronicler's data concerning the number of troops allocated to the defence of Polish castles. Moreover, in contrast to Ibrahim,

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[137] Their predecessors, who were only nominal rulers of the Muslim area of the Iberian Peninsula, based their power on Berber troops settled on the land. This indirectly follows from the work Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 227, 231. But the author only mentions the Berbers and their considerable autonomy—they were only obliged to do military service and pay some taxes—and the fragmentation of the Arab power in Spain. He does not refer to the non-existence of the retinues.

[138] *Galli Anonymi Cronica* 1.8, 25–26: "De Poznan namque mille CCCᵒ loricati milites cum IIIᵒʳ milibus clipeatorum militum; de Gneznen mille quingenti loricati et quinque milia clipeatorum; de Wladislau castro octigenti loricati et duo milia clipeatorum; de Gdech CCCᵒ loricati et duo milia clipeatorum. Hii omnes fortissimi et ad bella doctissimi magni Bolezlaui tempore procedebant. De aliis vero civitatibus et castellis et nobis longus et infinitus labor est enarrare et vobis forsitan fastidiosum fuerit audire . . . Plures namque habebat rex Bolezlaus milites loricatos, quam habet nostro tempore tota Polonia clipeatos; tempore Bolezlaui totidem in Polonia fere milites habebantur, quot homines cuiusque generis nostro tempore continentur". Roman Barnat, "Siły zbrojne Bolesława Chrobrego w świetle relacji Galla Anonyma," PrzH 88 (1997): 223–235 believes that Gallus refers to a source of the characteristics similar to the Indiculus loricatorum.

[139] For the emphasis on the purpose of Gallus's Gesta, that is, the celebration of Boleslav III and his ancestors, especially Boleslav the Brave, see Roman Michałowski, " 'Restauratio Poloniae' dans l'idéologie dynastique de Gallus Anonymus," *APH* 52 (1985): 5–43, at 18–34. Similarly Thomas N. Bisson, "On Not Eating Polish Bread in Vain: Resonance and Conjuncture in the Deeds of the Princes of Poland," *Viator* 29 (1998): 275–289.

Gallus Anonymus does not claim in his work that Boleslav's army consisted to a large extent, or even purely, of members of the retinue.

Even if not considering the justifiable doubts concerning the existence of a strong mounted army of the Piast dukes, Widukind's account should make one think why Mieszko, with his strong cavalry units, needed the aid of the Bohemian mounted warriors.[140] Two things are apparent in this respect. Firstly, one cannot confuse a number of troopers who could be called up from a given area with an army actually prepared for combat. Secondly, even a strong mounted army—if such it was!—did not provide its commander with the certitude of success and so could not be the only sufficient condition of expansion. The extent of forest coverage in Central Europe at that time, which would have essentially limited the maneuverability of such armies, opposes this idea, too.

Yet, one cannot neglect a rather vague account by an anonymous author who, in the second half of the tenth century, wrote his remarks into the work *On the governance of the Empire* by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–959). This anonymous interpolator mentions a realm of the White Croats.[141] Some Czech and Polish researchers, who also accept the existence of strong mounted armies of the Přemyslids and Piasts, identify this realm with the "empire" of Boleslav I (935–972). Still, the anonymous interpolator writes that those White Croats have fewer equestrians and infantry warriors than the Croats of the Balkans.[142] This testimony places a question mark over the idea of the great power of the newly established "empire", rather than supporting this concept.

The earliest legends of St. Wenceslas (†935) and St. Ludmila (†921) feature evidence of retinues of individual members of the ruling dynasty.[143]

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[140] See above n. 126.

[141] For their localization, see above pp. 73–75. Recently on the exaggerated information concerning the size of the Croatian army, see Todor Živković, "Contribution to the New Reading about Constantine Porfyrogenitus' statement on the Numbers of Croat Horsemen, Foot Soldiers and Sailors in early tenth Century," *Byzantinoslavica* 65 (2007): 143–151. The author points out that the mistake was made in the transcription of the manuscript— the contraction $\alpha\alpha$ was transcribed as "thousand", although no contraction in this form appears in the manuscript. Živković asserts that the $\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\nu$, group of 50–150 equestrians, is concerned here. So the Croatian Dukes would have been able to use ca. 3,000–9,000 horsemen, according to Živković rather 3,000. For him, this number is acceptable, which supports also the factual plausibility of Constantine's work.

[142] *Konstantini Porfyrogennéti De administrando imperio, MMFH* 3, edited by Dagmar Bartoňková (Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1969), chap. 31, 390.

[143] See e.g. *Crescente fide*, ed. Ludvíkovský, in Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Nově zjištěný rukopis legendy *Crescente fide* a jeho význam pro datování Kristiána," *LF* 81 (1958), 59: /St Wenceslas/... *exercitumque suum non solum armis, sed etiam optimis vestimentis ador-*

However, the only place mentioning their size symbolically refers to "thirty men".[144] Moreover, the *Legenda Christiani*, containing this information, paradoxically originates only from the end of the tenth century, that is, from the time when the "extended state retinue" is supposed not only to have existed but also to have been the engine of a crisis of the early Přemyslid realm. The *Chronicle of Cosmas* (1125) also gives plentiful evidence of the existence of personal, sometimes relatively large, retinues of individual Přemyslids in the eleventh as well as twelfth centuries.[145] So, together with the *Legenda Christiani*, it questions the idea of a gradual and historically inevitable development of the retinue, as František Graus and his pupils assert.

It is clear that the existence of the "extended state retinue" cannot be proved and the idea of its inevitable gradual development must be rejected as well. (In contrast to Poland, there is little evidence of the forcible subjugation of Bohemia proper either.) Concerning this issue, research can be based on a direct revision of sources mentioning "mounted armies" of the Přemyslids and Piasts, as well as on an analysis of the contemporary Anglo-Saxon and Frankish warfare. The relevant sources prove only the potential existence of large early medieval armies of a relatively motley composition that could never be assembled in one place—and not a uniformly organised ducal retinue. Mounted troops of early Přemyslids were hardly exceptional. Also the explanation of the mechanism of the "extended state retinue's" genesis must be revised, since it inevitably results in a vicious circle: the concept's authors themselves, after all, unwittingly question the capacity of the Přemyslid domain to keep a large retinue; they endeavour

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nabat . . . In *Fuit in provincia Boemorum*, in Václav Chaloupecký, *Prameny X. století: Legendy Kristiánovy o sv. Václavu a sv. Ludmile; Svatováclavský sborník: Na památku 1000. výročí smrti knížete Václava Svatého*, vol. 2, Svatováclavská tradice 2 (Prague: Národní výbor svatováclavský, 1939), chap. 7, 475, St Ludmila says: *Quid, fratres, cum tanto furore venistis? Nonne ego vos nutrivi, ut filios? Aurum meum et argentum et vestas pretiosas dedi vobis, et si quam culpam intuli vobis, dicite michi!* And also *Legenda Christiani: Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius*, edited by Jaroslav Ludvíkovský (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1978), chap. 4, 36: *Et non erubescitis neque mente pertractatis, quemadmodum egomet vos ceu filios proprios educavi, auro argentoque vestibusque insignibus ditavi?* These passages are the topoi of Carolingian hagiography.
    [144] See *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 2, 20. The legend mentions that Methodius baptised Bořivoj . . . *cum suis triginta, qui advenerant . . .*; we can assume that the Přemyslid salso used mercenaries from Scandinavia, cf. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Tunna und Gommon: Wikinger aus der Prager Fürstengefolgschaft?" *Folia diplomatica* 1 (1971): 171–188.
    [145] E.g. Cosmas refers to the *socii* in connection with the abduction of Judita of Schweinfurt, see *Cosmae Chronica* 1.40, 74–7; Jaromír's *miles Willehalmus* is mentioned ibid., 2.25, 116; the account of more than 2,000 followers of Břetislav II, see ibid., 2.48, 155.

to find an explanation in expansion, which allegedly guaranteed income from distant trade. They, however, neither explain the circumstances regarding initial investments nor reflect the sources on the support of such a large army.[146] They also presume that an army of this type would provide the Přemyslids with absolute domination, but a cursory comparison with the situation on the borders of the Slavic lands and the Empire imply rather the opposite.

So it turns out that, although the authors of the concept of the "early medieval state of Central European type" depict quite a motley image of the organisation of the Přemyslid and Piast domains in the early Middle Ages, they do not solve the question of how this type of social structure was created. The idea of the specific nature of this model is not convincing either, since one could find numerous pieces of evidence in German, French and English historiography (but also in primary sources in the respective countries) proving the contrary. In the future, a broader comparison is necessary, based on primary sources and detailed knowledge of relevant secondary literature, of not only Central European societies, but also of the Roman empire slowly altering into the medieval world. The Anglo-Saxon environment could provide material suitable for comparison, for it too was not under strong Roman influence and even the size of the area of individual Anglo-Saxon realms corresponded to that of the Přemyslid domain. Such comparison would make it possible to extend the existing knowledge of mechanisms leading to new structures of power within a given society.[147]

However, one might propose another solution to save the idea of looting warriors. A hypothesis of the autonomy of the military and peasant elements of society, among the Saxons as well as in the East, might provide a clue. Only, in such a case, arbitrarily settled warriors could live on accidentally levied taxes (or rather, spoils) for a longer period of time.

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[146] See already Václav Chaloupecký, *Prameny X. století legendy Kristiánovy o sv. Václavu a svaté Ludmile*. Svatováclavský sborník 2.2 (Prague: Národní výbor svatováclavský, 1939), 218–222, who points out this problem in an attempt to support his concept of the still existing direct Great Moravian continuity under Vratislav I (915–921). He also mentions that there is no evidence of the expansion of Boleslav I (935–972).

[147] For the methodology, see especially Bernhard Jussen, "Liturgie und Legitimation: Wie die Gallo-Romanen das Römische Reich beendeten," in *Institutionen und Ereignis: Über historische Praktiken und Vorstellungen gesellschaftlichen Ordnens*, edited by Reinhard Blänker and Bernhard Jussen, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 145 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 75–136; Bernhard Jussen, "Über 'Bischofsherrschaften' und die Prozeduren politisch-sozialer Umordnung in Gallien zwischen 'Antike' und 'Mittelalter'," *HZ* 260 (1995): 673–718.

Nonetheless, it would also mean rejecting the existence of relatively steady power structures in the given areas and fully revising the prevailing idea of Bohemian (and even early medieval) society of that time. So the Piasts as well as the Přemyslids may have been in the beginning commanders of retinues rather than founders of "realms", who dominated only the surroundings of the central castle and lived on accidentally levied taxes. Building castles that had to be repaired periodically through the work of many people could have transformed the coexistence of elites and "freemen" and successful raids led by Přemyslid dukes could have transformed the relationship between them and Bohemian elites as well.

Appendix: Building Hillfort

The earthworks of the hillforts in Bohemia and Moravia in the Early Middle Ages consisted of wooden constructions filled in with earth and covered on the external side with stonewall.[148] There is one Great Moravian hillfort Pohansko, where the excavations were not only realized since 1960, but reports of which were continuously published. Because of that, we can use the results of these complex analyses—without danger—as a useful case study.[149]

According to petrographical analysis, the stones were transported to Pohansko from 12 km distance.[150] The construction of Pohansko also required c. 7 400 m³ of wood that was cut mostly near the waterways.[151] The volume of earth is estimated at 69 000 tons.[152] These materials could have been transported by carts (500–750 kg), or on primitive boats (200–1000 kg).[153] To move stone by using 10 boats with cargo of 1 000 kg that needed one day for a one-way trip required 5 to 8 years.[154] We do not know exactly how many boats were used, but one cannot exclude the

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[148] Cf. Rudolf Procházka, *Vývoj opěvňovací techniky na Moravě a ve Slezsku v raném středověku*, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 38 (Archeologický ústav AV ČR Brno: Brno, 2009). We can also use here results of excellent monograph about the fortification of Great Moravian hillfort in Pohansko (South Moravia).

[149] Petr Dresler, *Opevnění Pohanska u Břeclavi.* Dissertationes archologicae 11, edited by Jan Klápště and Zdeněk Měřínský (Masarykova univerzita: Brno, 2011).

[150] Ibid., 82–83.

[151] Ibid., 83, 85–86.

[152] Ibid., 84.

[153] Ibid., 87–93. Cf. Bernard Bachrach, "The fortification of Gaul and the economy of the third and fourth centuries," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3 (2010): 51–53.

[154] Dresler, *Opevnění Pohanska*, 92–93. Cf. Bachrach, "The fortification of Gaul," 59 assumes, that building the walls of Bordeaux required 200 000 tones of stone (400 000 of cartloads) moved within 20 years (35 cartloads daily).

possibility that builders in Pohansko transported the materials with twice as many boats.[155] The daily norm for mining stone is estimated at 1 m^3, for processing earth 2.5 m^3 and for cutting wood 0.19 m^3 and for its shaping 2.5 m^3,[156] but employment of skilled bricklayers could have sped up the construction substantially—the bricklayer Vratislav Kunte built a stone wall, width of 1 m, average height of 1.55 m and length of 100 m, in Maková Hora in 50 working days, although by application of our norms, the construction should have taken 155 days.[157] We also know that one worker was able to dig the hole for 6 columns a day, and for the whole hillfort in 35 days.[158] That implies that 150 workers managed to build the fortification within 4 or 5 months; the same result is valid for Mikulčice, another important Great Moravian hillfort.[159] Hundreds of people lived at the same time in large hillforts like Mikulčice or Pohansko and in their hinterland, people grew the wheat to supply the centre.[160] To mobilize 150 workers for one season did not placed extreme demands on Great Moravian princes. The same result is valid for Přemyslid Bohemia or for Wessex in the ninth century.[161]

2. *Territorial Extent and Development of Přemyslid Realm*

An almost unnoticed account by Cosmas (1045–1125), dean of Prague cathedral chapter and the most important Bohemian chronicler before 1300, connecting it with praise for Duke Boleslav II (972–999), mentions that Boleslav substantially broadened the extent of the Přemyslid power

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[155] Dresler, *Opevnění Pohanska*, 92–93.

[156] Dresler, *Opevnění Pohanska*, 125 and Procházka, *Vývoj opevňovací techniky*, 272–273. Cf. also Bachrach, "The fortification of Gaul," 50; Jeremy Haslam, "King Alfred and the Vikings: Strategies and Tactics 876–886 AD," *Anglo-Saxon Studies* 13 (2005): 121–154, 132, or Richard P. Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Longman, 1998), 206. On the speed and difficulty of the construction of strongholds, see also Slavomil Vencl, "K problematice fortifikací v archeologii," *AR* 35 (1983): 284–315, at 300–302, who calculates that the construction of a fort of 5ha required 5,000–25,000 working days, which corresponds to the work of 90–125 persons.

[157] Dresler, *Opevnění Pohanska*, 126; Dagmar Dresslerová, "Maková Hora—novodobý příklad pravěké opěvňovací techniky," *Archeologické výzkumy v jižních Čechách* 19 (2006): 341–348.

[158] Dresler, *Opevnění Pohanska*, 126.

[159] Procházka, *Vývoj opevňovací techniky*, 273.

[160] Cf. Petr Dresler – Jiří Macháček, "The Hinterland of Early Medieval centre at Pohansko near Břeclav," in *Das witschaftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren*, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 6, edited by Lumír Poláček (Archeologický ústav AV ČR Brno: Brno, 2008), 313–325.

[161] Cf. Haslam, "King Alfred and the Vikings," 132–133.

and that he, like Piast Duke Mieszko (†992), secured the borders of his realm by means of a Papal privilege.[162] However, it remains unresolved whether the silence of other contemporary sources implies the non-existence of this "realm",[163] or instead a lack of interest of sources from the Holy Roman Empire in the situation in the East.

In a certain sense, an account of the annalist of Pegau is of much greater importance. In his mid-twelfth-century work, he describes the beginnings of the Pegau monastery and simultaneously celebrates its founder, Wiprecht of Groitzsch, one of the courtiers and clients of king Vratislav II of Bohemia (1061–1092).[164] On one occasion, the annalist puts a speech directed to Vratislav into the mouth of his hero, in which the significance of Vratislav's ancestors is stressed. Among them stands out a certain Bougo, who also ruled in the distant land of the Serings.[165] The statement of the monastery historian thus makes it possible to presume that some awareness of a once-powerful monarch existed, an ancestor of the ruling Přemyslid, and his "realm"—even beyond the environments of the Přemyslid Court. (Similar evidence of the awareness of the previous power of the Moravian rulers is provided by the eleventh-century Chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg).[166] However, the few disparate remarks

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[162] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.34, 60: "Hic gloriosissimus dux secundus Bolezlaus vere et hodie haud *[satis]*, plangendus cuius memoria in benedictione est, in quantum apostolica dilataverit ferro sui terminos ducatus, apostolica testatur auctoritas in privilegio eiusdem Pragensis episcopatus".

[163] As Rychterová, "Aufstieg und Fall des Přemyslidenreiches."

[164] *Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, *MGH* SS 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859, 232–257. Generally, see Hans Patze, "Die Pegauer Annalen, die Königserhebung Wratislaws von Böhmen und die Anfänge der Stadt Pegau," *JbfGMOD* 12 (1963, published in 1964): 1–62; on the importance of the aforementioned passage to the comprehension of historical consciousness and its function (not only) in the eleventh-century Czech lands, see Dušan Třeštík, " 'Gloria regni' Vratislava II.: Hymnus 'Versus post missam' a kronikář Kosmas," in *Verba in imaginibus: Františku Šmahelovi k 70. narozeninám*, edited by Eva Doležalová, Martin Nodl, and Petr Sommer (Prague: Argo, 2004), 285–298.

[165] *Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses*, 236: "Mirari satis, inquit, non posse me fateor, quod tantus vir, tanti nominis ac potestatis, aequanimiter feras detrimentum et abiectionem regni nominis et auctoritatis. Quod in hoc satis apparet, quia comites et ingenui, magna potestate vel honore praediti, antecessoribus tuis sub iureiurando fidem et hominium servantes, tuo recusant dominio subici. Hoc quam indecens et incongruorum sit, aperiam. Memini quendam antecessorem tuorum Bougonem dici, cuius principatui non dicam comites aliosve nobilitate opibusque pollentes, immo duces et marchiones militabant. Is adeptus dominium nomenque regium, in provincia Seringorum suum dilataverat imperium, aliisque principibus aeque potentibus famosior et eminentior claruit. Quare si regii nominis detrimenta recuperare desideres, considera iam oportunum tempus adesse, turbataque res publica utilem et efficacem dabit occasionem. Ego quoqe, quoad potero, sicut consilio ita praesto sum auxilio".

[166] *Thietmari Chronicon* 6.99, 392: "Boemii regnante Zuetopulco quondam fuerant principes nostri. Hinc a nostris parentibus quotannis solvitur census, et episcopos in sua regione

in later chronicles document only the dreams and claims of Přemyslid monarchs at the end of the eleventh and at the beginning of the twelfth century. They say nothing about the situation in the tenth century—which in Czech and Polish historiography is perceived as the period when the large "empires" of Přemyslids and Piasts had been built. Although these "empires" did not survive more than two generations [Boleslav I and Boleslav II (935–999) as well as Mieszko I and Boleslav I the Brave (960s–1025)], they appear also in nineteenth and twentieth century nationalistic historiography as connected with the mythical beginnings of the Czech and Polish states, understood as the same as the medieval foundations of the modern states by those same names. In the first chapter the cohesion of this long standing concept was questioned. In following text we will focus on the evidence of territorial extent and development of Přemyslid and Piast "realms".

Widukind of Corvey speaking of Boleslav I (935–972), who had laid siege to the castle of an unknown prince[167] writes, "...and, fearing the neighboring ruler, as he had heeded the orders of the Saxons, he declared war on him"[168] King Otto I (936–973) had intervened in favour of his ally at the time[169] and sent out a punitive expedition composed of Thuringians

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Marierum dicta habuit; quod omnis et successores sui superbia tumidi perdiderunt, quia omnis humiliter euangelio teste crescit et arrogantiae sublimitas minoratur. Sine maximo timore in hiis nullus dominatur provinciis. Caritas pura gemit exclusa, quia regnante periurium cum fraude socia".

[167] Jiří Sláma, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku*, vol. 2, 58 considers the idea that this castle was situated beyond the area of the Czech lands.

[168] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.3, 68: "...timensque sibi vicinum subregulum, eo quod paruisset imperiis Saxonum, indixit ei bellum..."; On his chronicle most recently SverreBagge, Kings, *Politics, and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography c. 950–1150*, Studies in History of Christian Thought 103 (Leiden: Brill 2002), 23–94, who sees in the chronicle two significant areas of Widukind's interest: relations between king and his "people" and links between an "internal" and "external" conflict, cf. ibid., 26–29; Bagge regards the chronicle, its structure and conception rather as originating from author's intention than resulting from oral culture, see ibid., 30–43. See also Helmut Beumann, *Widukind von Corvey: Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung und Ideengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1950).

[169] Since the conflict ended fourteen years later in 950, the account can be connected with the year 936. According to Zdeněk Fiala, the intervention against Boleslav took place already before Otto's coronation, see Zdeněk Fiala, "Dva kritické příspěvky ke starým dějinám českým," *SH* 9 (1962): 5–65, at 29–32. But the reasons he presents are not convincing, since Ernst Dümmler and Rudolf Köpke to whom Zdeněk Fiala refers claim quite the opposite, see Ernst Dümmler and Rudolf Köpke, *Kaiser Otto der Große*, Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1876), 53. And also Widukind's text does not support Fiala's statement at all, for the term *interea* probably refers to the end of Henry I's reign and the early reign of his son. It is not possible to formulate a far-reaching interpretation on the basis of this single word, see convincing argumentation in

and the "league of robbers" to punish Boleslav I (935–972).[170] The party was led by Count Esico of Merseburg;[171] the two armies under Boleslav's command engaged the Emperor's troops outside the castle, most likely in what is now Saxony.[172] The clash ended with Boleslav's decisive victory.

However, only one party had thus been defeated—and a small one at that. Boleslav was in need of time—and time was something Otto could not easily spare. The young king had become involved in a wave of "conspiracies", which he had previously—if indirectly—initiated himself.[173]

Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 530–935*, 217–220. With regard to Otto's absence from the campaign against Boleslav, it is likely that this campaign and an expedition against the Retars were simultaneous. On essential information as to specification of the chronology of Otto's expedition against Retars, and by extension of Esico's fall, see *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, no. 2, 91. It provides the *datum ante quem*—14. 10. 936 ; on the course of combats with the Retars, see especially *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.4, 70–71.

[170] See the next note. This "unit" is not mentioned in other sources, some analogies may be found in the Spanish March—where *liberi homines*, often of a suspicious origin, were settled by the ruler in the Carolingian period—or perhaps also in the Anglo-Saxon environment, see Leyser, "Henry I", 22.

[171] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.3, 68–70: "Mittitur autem ei Asic cum legione Mesaburiorum et valida manu Hassiganorum, additurque ei exercitus Thuringorum. . . . Bolizlav autem audiens de exercitu Saxonico, et quia Saxones seorsum et seorsum Thuringi irent contra se, divisis et ipse sociis, sicuti erat acerrimus consilio, utroque exercitui occurrere disposuit. At Thuringi, ut hostes inprovise sibi occursitare viderunt, fuga periculum devitaverunt. Asic autem cum Saxonibus et caeteris auxiliariis nichil cunctatus in hostes ruit maximamque partem ex eis armis fudit, caeteros fugere conpulit, victorque ad castra reversus est. Et cum ignorasset de exercitu, qui insecutus fuerat Thuringos, minus caute usus est victoria perpetrata. Bolizlav autem videns exercitum nostrum dispersum et alios in extrahendis spoliis caesorum, alios in suis corporibus reficiendis, alios in paleis equorum congregandis occupatos, fugatum reversumque coadunans exercitum, super inprovisos ac recenti victoria securos subito irruit et ducem cum omni nostro exercitu delevit. Pergensque inde ad urbem subreguli primo eam inpetu cepit et usque in hodiernum diem solitudinem fecit". On the origin of Count Esico, see Herbert Ludat, "Böhmen und die Anfänge Ottos I.," in Politik – Gesellschaft – Geschichtsschreibung: Giessener Festgabe František Graus zum 60. Geburtstag, edited by Herbert Ludat and Rainer C. Schwinges, Beihefte des AfKuG 18 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1982), 131–164, at 155–156.

[172] The localization is unclear, see Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 530–935*, 435–436.

[173] Cf. *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.10–36, 73–95; *Liutprandi Antapodosis*, in *Livtprandi Cremonensis Opera omnia*, Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio medievalis 156, edited by Paolo Chiesa (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 4.29–35, 118–121. An essential contribution to understanding of the mechanism and causes of these conflicts is the work Karl J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Arnold, 1979). On chronology, see Dümmler and Köpke, *Kaiser Otto der Große*, 62–108. About Liutprand see John N. Sutherland, *Liudprand of Cremona, Bishop, Diplomat, Historian: Studies of the Man and his Age*, Biblioteca degli studi medievali 14 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1988). About Widukind on more details, see Liudger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: Zu Kontext und Fuktion sakraler Vorstelungen in Historiographie und Bildungszeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischer Zeit*, Vorstellungswelt des Mittelalters 2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), 74–101.

Most dukes turned against him, including his offended brothers Thank-
mar and Henry. According to Widukind, throughout the prolonged battle,
all the king had to rely on was "a prayer to the Lord".[174] On reaching rec-
onciliation and a certain stabilization of the kingdom's internal affairs in
941, unrest among Otto's kinsmen to the west led to his involvement in
another problematic area. Far from staying detached, the young king soon
became embroiled in disputes in the West Frankish Kingdom between
his two brothers-in-law, Louis IV d'Outremer (936–954) and Duke Hugh
the Great (†956). He subsequently spent a full decade involved in these
quarrels.

In spite of the king's difficulties—both in the empire itself and in the
west—the war in the east never entirely ceased. Otto's campaign of 936
did not result in victory; however, a note regarding hostages from Bole-
slav's army which Otto displayed to "the people" at least suggests that
war against the Přemyslid prince was more complex than previously sus-
pected.[175] Indeed, how else would said hostages otherwise come into the
king's hands?

Let us attempt to specify to some extent the chronology and the course
of events. In his chronicle, Richer of Rheims mentions two messages from
Gerberga, Otto's sister and wife to Louis IV, to the king. The first legation
embarked on the way soon after Louis was taken prisoner by Hugh in
July 945.[176] The second apparently followed soon after, in connection with
Louis' release, which the young Frankish king accomplished by surrender-
ing title to the important city of Laon—in any case, such is the course of
events according to Richer's work.[177] Otto assuredly heard out his sister's
pleas, and in August of 946 organised a party with the objective of setting

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[174] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.17, 82.
[175] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.39, 99. Novotný does not agree with the date because of unclear
evidence, see Václav Novotný, *Od nejstarších dob do smrti knížete Oldřicha*, vol. 1.1 of *České
dějiny* (Prague: Laichter, 1912), 485, n. 1. Dümmler and Köpke, *Kaiser Otto der Große*, 154,
n. 2 suppose Otto's success, without a support in sources.
[176] *Richeri Historiarum libri quatuor*, edited by Hartmut Hoffmann, *MGH* SS 38 (Hanno-
ver: Hahn, 2000), 2.49, 134. On Richer's chronicle most recently Hartmut Hoffmann, "Die
Historien Richers von Saint-Remi," *DA* 54, (1998): 445–532; Jason Glenn, *Politics and History
in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni-
versity Press, 2004) analyzes the process of writing of the chronicle on the basis of its
autograph. On events of that year, see Dümmler and Köpke, *Kaiser Otto der Große*, 144–145;
August Heil, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Otto dem Grossen und Ludwig IV. von
Frankreich*, Historische Studien 46 (Berlin: Ebering, 1904), 79–85.
[177] *Richeri Historiarum libri quatuor* 2.53, 136; *Flodoardi Annales*, edited by Georg H.
Pertz, *MGH* SS 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1839), 393—I did not have the more recent edition at
my disposal; *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.39, 99.

out west to aid his brother-in-law. Nevertheless, his reaction was far from immediate and the outset of the campaign therefore rather belated.[178]

It is not known where Otto was at the time when the first message reached him—i.e. in August 945 at the very earliest. A charter was published in Aachen on July 13th,[179] but a more reliable document detailing the king's itinerary is only found in a report originally included in the now lost *Annals of Hersfeld* and documented in the *Annales Lamperti, Annales Hildesheimenses* and *Annales Altahenses*,[180] the last of the three includes a note regarding the acceptance of the message, dated August 31st, which—with respect to the origin of the message—is attributed to Hersfeld.[181]

Sometime between receiving his sister's message and the death of his first wife, Queen Aedgyth/Edit on January 26th 946,[182] [i.e. the two events delimiting the paragraph concerning hostages in *Widukind's Chronicle*], a meeting between the king and Boleslav had apparently taken place, the outcome of which was in Boleslav's favour on account of his holding the hostages.[183] It is also possible that the king had agreed to a truce with Boleslav in order to gain a sufficient amount of time to organize a party to come to Louis' aid.

The situation in the west gradually grew more stable over the course of the next few years. The Synod of Ingelheim of 948, as well as other campaigns, forced the quarrelsome brothers-in-law to declare a truce.[184] Once the situation calmed down, Otto and his brother Henry took advantage of

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[178] On the party, see *Widukindi Libri tres* 3.2–4, 104–107.

[179] *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, no. 70, 149–151.

[180] *Lamperti Hersfeldensis monachi Annales*, in Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis Opera, edited by Oswald Holder-Egger, *MGH* SRG 38 (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1894), 36: "Nuncii Grecorum ad regem Ottonem venerunt cum magnis muneribus in vigilia omnium sanctorum."; *Annales Hildesheimenses*, edited by Georg Waitz, *MGH* SRG 8 (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), ad A. 945, 20: "Legati Grecorum venerunt ad regem Ottonem cum muneribus."; *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, edited by Wilhelm von Giesebrecht and Edmundus L.B. von Oefele, *MGH* SRG 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), 8: "Nuncii Grecorum in Saxoniam ad regem venerunt cum muneribus maximis in vigilia omnium sanctorum".

[181] Emil Ottenthal, *Regesta Imperii*, vol. 2, Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter den Herrschern aus dem sächsischen Hause, 919–1024, bk. 1 (Innsbruck: Böhlau, 1893), no. 127d, 67.

[182] Dümmler and Köpke, *Kaiser Otto der Große*, 146–148, especially on the basis of the charter issued on January 29, 946 in Magdeburg for the salvation of the souls of Henry I and Edgith, see *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, no. 74, 153–154 a č. 75, 155.

[183] A similar situation occured in 1039, when Břetislav was surprised by a report on Henry's expedition, approaching the borders. He immediately sent envoys and offered his son Spytihněv as a hostage.

[184] *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, no. 103–104, 185–187; *Richeri Historiarum libri quatuor* 2.69–82, 73–80; Flodoardi Annales ad A. 948, 395–398.

the opportunity and stormed into Bohemia in the summer of 950.[185] Laying siege to the castle of *Niuunburg*[186]—the residence of his foe's son—his army settled down and waited. And hardly in vain, as in due course, the Bohemian prince appeared—at the head of his own army.

However, Widukind writes that "Boleslav,[187] on recognizing the king's virtues (*virtus*) and seeing the great number of his troops, would rather have submitted to the king's majesty than suffering ultimate defeat. So he left the castle.[188] And standing under the colours[189] and listening to the

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[185] The charter of July 16, 950, in which Henry of Bavaria is a petitioner and which in its actum-formula informs that this document was issued in Bohemia, gives the most precise information, see *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, no. 126, 207–208: ". . . in suburbio Niuunburg . . ." Further on this campaign, see *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.3, 69; more ibid*.,* 3.8, 108–109: "Illo tempore rex proficiscitur in militiam contra Bolizlavum regem Boemiorum; et cum capienda esset urbs quae nuncupabatur Nova, in qua clausus obsidebatur Bolizlavi filius, prudenti rex consilio diremit prelium, ne miles in rapiendis hostium spoliis aliquod periculum incideret. Considerata itaque virtute regis ac innumera multitudine exercitus, Bolizlav urbe egressus maluit tantae maiestati subici quam ultimam perniciem pati. Sub signisque stans et regem audiens responsaque reddens, veniam tandem promeruit. Inde plena victoria gloriosus factus, rex Saxoniam regreditur". See also *Richeri Historiarum libri quatuor* 3.6, 173; *Annales Einsidlenses*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, *MGH* SS 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1839), 142: "Otto rex in Poeniam." *Continuatio Reginonis*, edited by Friedrich Kurze, *MGH* SRG 50 (Hannover: Hahn, 1890) *ad A. 950*, 164: "Boemorum princeps Bolizlao regi rebellat; quem rex validissima manu adibat suaeque per omnia dicioni subdebat.".; *Flodoardi annales* ad A. 950, 400: "Otto rex," qui quandam Wenedorum magnam obsederat urbem, nomine Proadem, regem ipsorum in subiectionem recipit; sed et Hungaros sibi subditos facit."; *Thietmari Chronicon*: 2.2, 38–40: "Nam Boemiorum ducem Ventizlavum Bolizlavus nefandus fratrem Deo ac regi perimens fidelem, restitit multo temporę audacter et postea devictus est a rege; fratri suimet Heinrico, Bawariorum duci, ad serviendum traditus est". The *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, *Hildesheimenses* nor *Lamperti Annales* do not contain an account of this expedition. From secondary literature, see Dümmler and Köpke, *Kaiser Otto der Große*, 181; Novotný, *Od nejstarší dob*, 485–489; Wilhelm Wegener, *Böhmen/Mähren und das Reich im Hochmittelater: Untersuchungen zur staatsrechtlichen Stellung Böhmens und Mährens im Deutschen Reich des Mittelaters, 919–1253* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1959), 59; Fiala, "Dva kritické příspěvky," 43–47; Hartmut Hoffmann, "Böhmen und das deutsche Reich im hohen Mittelalter," *JbfGMOD* 18 (1969): 1–62, 22.

[186] It is not clear which castle is concerned here. Definitely, it is not present-day Nymburk (central Bohemia) but rather, as Sláma puts it, a newly built stronghold in northeastern Bohemia, see Sláma, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku*, vol. 2, 58. On the basis of the extant accounts and with regard to existing knowledge of archaelogy, this "new castle" cannot be safely identified.

[187] Ludat, "Böhmen und die Anfänge Ottos I.," 137 claims that all this concerns Boleslav' son.

[188] Widukind used the term *urbs* here, which in his chronicle, however, can mean a seat of a bishop with an ancient tradition as well as newly built castle, see Bláhová, *Evropská sídliště*, 85–89.

[189] Unfortunately, it is not quite clear whose standarts are meant here. Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 5. 3rd ed. (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1955), 102, n. 2, does not risk saying under whose standards Boleslav stood and the account considers as a record of negotiations. Albert Bauer and Reinhold Rau translate: ". . . stellte sich unter die Fahnen . . .", see *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit,*

king and answering him, he was granted mercy. And the king, on achiev-
ing a glorious victory, returned to Saxony."[190] Elsewhere, Widukind notes
that Boleslav I (935–972) thereafter remained loyal and supportive of the
king.[191] That's all we know about the beginnings of the so called Přemyslid
empire. Contemporary imperial annals only mention conflicts between
Přemyslids and Ottonians and have no interest in the territorial extent or
structure of Boleslav realm. There is also no trace of the structural change
caused by the enthronement of the new ruler Boleslav I (935–972), who—
in contrast to his brother Wenceslas—is believed to have defeated and
subjugated all other dukes in Bohemia and built new castles on their
land.

Regarding the year 990, Thietmar of Merseburg notes an interesting
account about a dispute between the Bohemian duke, Boleslav II (972–
999), and Mieszko I (960s–†992) of the Piast dynasty.[192] Reportedly, the
controversy was caused by the fact that Mieszko conquered part of Bole-
slav's domain—Thietmar refers to it as a *regnum*. The irritated Přemyslid
immediately swung into action and arranged for the support of the Liutiz-
ians, allegedly his old allies.[193] Mieszko was also not idle and sent for help
from the Holy Roman Empire, from Empress Theophanu.[194] Thus, some-
where in the land of *Selpoli* four armies met: Mieszko's army with an elite
imperial troop, led by Margrave Ekkehard I and Gisilher, the Archbishop
of Magdeburg, on his side, and Boleslav's Bohemian army, accompanied
by Liutizian horsemen. Firstly, the Bohemian troops appeared on the
scene, and soon an Imperial contingent arrived. Boleslav sent out spies.

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edited by Albert Bauer and Reinhold Rau, Ausgewählte Quelen zur deutschen Geschichte
des Mittelalters 8 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), 135.

[190] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.8, 108–109: "Considerata itaque virtute regis ac innumera multi-
tudine exercitus, Bolizlav urbe egressus maluit tantae maiestati subici quam ultimam per-
niciem pati. Sub signisque stans et regem audiens responsaque reddens, veniam tandem
promeruit. Inde plena victoria gloriosus factus, rex Saxoniam regreditur".

[191] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.3, 69: ". . . regi fiedelis servus et utilis permansit . . ."; Allegedly,
Boleslav even became vassal of his brother, according to the relatively late source *Thiet-
mari Chronicon* 2.2, 40. Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that Thietmar's account of these
events influenced a later enfeoffment of Duke Jaromír by Henry II in Prague after 1000.
On Thietmar as a reporter on Czech history, see Eduard Mikušek, "Ideové pojetí vztahu
českého státu k říši německé v dílech 10. a 11. století," *SH* 26 (1979): 5–59, at 12–17.

[192] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.11 (9)–14, 144–148.

[193] Ibid., 4.11 (9), 144: "Bolizlavus Liuticios suis parentibus et sibi semper fideles in auxi-
lium sibi invitat; . . ."

[194] Ibid., 4.11 (9), 144: "Miseco autem predictae imperatricis adiutorium postulat. Quae
cum tunc in Magadaburg fuisset, Gisillerum eiusdem archiepiscopum comitesque hos
Ekkihardum, Esiconem, Binizonem, cum patre meo equivoco, Brunone ac Udone caeteris-
que compluribus eo misit".

However, they recommended that he not commence the battle: the core of the Imperial army might arrive soon, but fresh Poles would destroy the sparse ranks of the Bohemian warriors.[195] So negotiations commenced through Ekkehard and Gisilher. Although the Bohemian duke attempted to use the Saxons as his hostages,[196] Mieszko is reported not to have given in. On the contrary, he allegedly pointed out that Boleslav would risk the Emperor's wrath if the Saxons suffered any harm.[197] Thus, in the end, Boleslav did not attain his goal and even had to protect the returning Saxons against his Liutizian allies.[198]

Thietmar's story always arouses the interest of historians. Researchers are particularly interested in the question as to where the *regnum ablatum,* which had become the bone of contention between the former allies, was situated. They also endeavour to clarify why the controversy arose. That is why they often have to go back to much earlier times. However, several basic themes have appeared, which take other sources, already discussed above, into account. An attempt at their classification will be made now.

In the previous literature, two solutions have crystallized: Gerard Labuda makes an effort to prove that Mieszko re-conquered the Cracow region in 990, since the Přemyslids had allegedly lost all the other areas in the late 980s.[199] Henryk Łowmiański and Hynek Bulín, in contrast, identify

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[195] Ibid., 4.12, 144: "Exercitus hic quantitate parvus, qualitate sua optimus et omnis est ferreus. Pugnare cum eo tibi potis est; sed si tibi hodie victoria evenit, sic prosternis, ut fugiendo Miseconem inimicum te continuo persequentem vix aut nequaquam evadas et Saxones tibi hostem in perpetuum acquiras".

[196] Ibid., 4.12, 146: "Venit Bolizlavus cum nostris ad Oderam; ad Miseconem nuncius mittitur, qui diceret, se in potestate sua auxiliatores suos habere. Si regnum sibi ablatum redderet, hos incolumes abire permiteret; sin autem, omnes perderet".

[197] Ibid., 4.12, 146: "Sed Miseco huic talibus respondit: si voluisset rex suos acquirere salvos aut ulcisci perditos, faceret; et si hoc non fieret, quod propter eos nil omnino perdere voluisset".

[198] Boleslav at least threw down to them the garrison of a castle which he allegedly conquered on his return, see ibid., 4.13, 146. On Thietmar's image of this Přemyslid Duke, see David Kalhous, "Boleslav III.: kníže na konci časů?" in *Ad vitam et honorem: Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi přátelé a žáci k pětasedmdesátým narozeninám,* edited by Tomáš Borovský, Libor Jan, and Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matice moravská, 2004), 221–229.

[199] Gerard Labuda, "Bolesław Chrobry w Krakowie, czyli o rzekomej utracie Krakowa przez Czechów w roku 999," in Gerard Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego,* vol. 2 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1988), 264–293. For the affirmative view within Czech historiography, see Dušan Třeštík, "Sv. Vojtěch a formování střední Evropy," in *Sv. Vojtěch, Čechové a Evropa,* edited by Josef Žemlička and Dušan Třeštík (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1998), 89.

this area with the present-day Silesia and they connect the loss of Cracow with the year 999.[200]

To assess these explanations, one must focus on interpretations of the overall situation in Central Europe in the late 980s. In this case, too, Labuda enjoys the highest respect.[201] This historian claims that the relations between Boleslav II and Mieszko had degraded by 984. Thus, whereas Boleslav persistently sided with Henry II the Wrangler, Mieszko had deserted to Otto a long time before. In Labuda's opinion, Boleslav remained in opposition until 990 and, during lengthy struggles, lost a major part of his realm: Silesia in 986–987 and the Cracow region a short time later, probably in 989–990.[202] Allegedly, it was only in the early 990s that Mieszko and Boleslav made peace with each other and Boleslav finally bowed to Otto on this occasion.[203] What are the grounds for this explanation?

Labuda's concept is based on rejecting Thietmar's statement that Otto III reconciled with Mieszko and Boleslav at the Diet of Easter 986.[204] As Labuda puts it, the Diet did not take place and thus Boleslav II could not have made peace with Otto there.[205] Labuda argues that, according Imperial annals, Mieszko and Otto reconciled in the Slavic lands and therefore

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[200] Henryk Łowmiański, "Bolesław Chrobry w Krakowie w końcu X wieku," in Henryk Łowmiański, *Studia nad dziejami Słowiańszczyzny, Polski i Rusi w wiekach średnich* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1986), 357–366; Hynek Bulín, "Polský stát Měška I. a Čechy: Příspěvek k dějinám vztahů česko-polských v druhé polovině 10. století," *Slovanské historické studie* 4 (1961): 87–162, at 151–155.

[201] Gerard Labuda, "Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego," In Gerard Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 1. 2nd ed. (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1987): 341–351. Affirmatively e.g. Herbert Ludat, *An der Elbe und Oder um das Jahr 1000: Skizzen zur Politik des Ottonenreiches und der slavischen Mächte in Mitteleuropa* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1971), 24; Karol Maleczyński, "Polska a Czechy v latach 966–986," in *Studia z dziejów polskich i czechoslowackich*, vol. 1, edited by Ewa Maleczyński and Karol Maleczyński (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1960), 67–71, and basically also Třeštík, "Sv. Vojtěch a formování střední Evropy," 89.

[202] Labuda, "Bolesław Chrobry w Krakowie"; Labuda, "Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego," 341–351.

[203] Labuda, "Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego," 343–351.

[204] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.9 (7), 140: "Celebrata est proxima paschalis solemnitas in Quidelingenburg a rege, ubi quattuor ministrabat duces, Heinricus ad mensam, Conrad ad cameram, Hecil ad cellarium, Bernhardus equis prefuit. Huc etiam Bolizlavus et Miseco cum omnibus suis conveniunt omnibusque rite peractis muneribus locupletati discesserunt. In diebus illis Miseco semet ipsum regi dedit et cum muneribus aliis camelum ei presentavit et duas expediciones cum eo fecit".

[205] Labuda, "Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego," 343–351.

it could not have happened in Quedlinburg.[206] Simultaneously he points out that, according to Thietmar, Mieszko participated in two campaigns against the Slavs after the abovementioned Diet, whereas the annals from the Empire do not mention this situation.[207] Also the *Lamperti Annales*, a relatively late version of the older Imperial annals, play a role in Labuda's reasoning. They alone refer to Bohemia as the goal of those campaigns.[208]

The core of Labuda's argumentation can be questioned. As he asserts, Mieszko (960s–†992) could not have submitted to Otto III (983–1002) in Quedlinburg since, according to earlier Imperial annals, this only happened during the summer campaign to the Slavic lands.[209] Gerard Labuda is certainly right in his assessment of the passage in *Thietmar's Chronicle*.[210] In comparison to the information of the Imperial annals,[211] Thietmar's account is confused. The annals, however, mention Mieszko's presence, already in Otto's campaign in 985,[212] but they note that Mieszko submitted to Otto as late as in 986.[213] Thus, either their information is not fully credible or the reconciliation should not inevitably be connected with the submission.

At the same time, it is necessary to point out that Thietmar also does not connect Mieszko's submission with the assembly of Quedlinburg. After summarizing the course of action in Quedlinburg at Easter,[214] the

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[206]   Ibid., 343–351.

[207]   Ibid., 347–348.

[208]   *Lamperti Annales ad A. 986*, 45: "Otto ex puer Boemios vastavit, sed Misichonem cum muneribus obviam suscepit."; Ibid., 45: "Iterum rex Boemiam intravit et eam ad deditionem coegit".

[209]   Labuda, "Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego," 348–349.

[210]   See n. 230–231.

[211]   *Die Annales Quedlinburgenses*, edited by Martina Giese. *MGH* SRG 72 (Hannover: Hahn, 2004) *ad A. 986*, 476 (= *Annales Hildesheimenses ad A. 986*, 24): "Otto rex adhuc puerulus cum magno exercitu Saxonum perrexit in Sclaviam, ibique ad eum venit Misacho cum multitudine nimia, obtulit que ei unum camelum et alia xenia multa, et se ipsum subdidit potestati illius". About this source important tenth century source see especially Robert Holtzmann, "Die Quedlinburger Annalen," Sachsen und Anhalt 1 (1925): 64–125. This study has repeatedly been used by present-day literature, see Martina Giese in the introduction to the new edition of *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, 69–101, 143–152. *Annales Altahenses Maiores ad A. 986*, 15: "Oddo rex puer cum magno exercitu Sclaviam vastat et ibi Misaconem obvium habuit cum exercitu et muneribus".

[212]   *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 985*, 473: "Saxones Sclaviam invaserunt, quibus ad supplementum Misacho cum magno exercitu venit . . ."; *Annales Hildesheimenses ad A. 985*, 24: "Et eodem anno Saxones Sclaviam invaserunt, quibus ad supplementum Misaco cum magno exercitu venit".

[213]   See n. 237.

[214]   *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.9 (7), 140: "Celebrata est proxima paschalis solemnitas in Quidelingenburg a rege, ubi quattuor ministrabat duces, Heinricus ad mensam, Conrad ad

chronicler—based on the *Annales Quedlinburgenses* and somewhat vaguely—notes that "in those days Mieszko submitted to the King, presented him with a camel and other gifts and took part in two campaigns with him".[215] Thus, a weak point of the hypothesis of an early reconciliation between Boleslav II (972–999) and Otto III (983–1002) (that Labuda rejects) is rather the fact that Thietmar does not mention precisely which Boleslav was present in Quedlinburg: the account might concern Mieszko's son of the same name.

Gerard Labuda also questions Mieszko's participation in the two campaigns following his submission, for the Imperial annals do not back this statement and refer to Mieszko's assistance to the King only in 985 and 986.[216] Regarding 987, the annals only mention a campaign against the Slavs and do not point out his presence. There are several solutions to choose from. The two campaigns might be those of 985 and 986. In this case, they provide further proof of Thietmar's ignorance or his lack of interest in historical details. Had Mieszko reconciled with Otto III after the Diet of Quedlinburg at Easter 986, he would not have marched with him twice, but only once. Or, as the case may be, Mieszko (†992) also marched into combat with Otto III in 987, but the Imperial annals remain silent about this.

However, even Labuda's reasoning, based on the *Annals of Lambert of Hersfeld*,[217] according to which those campaigns were aimed at the Bohemians, is not convincing, because the majority of sources which are closer to the late tenth century claim that the campaigns were organised against the Slavs.[218] Just as the *Annals of Quedlinburg* and the *Annals of Hildesheim*, the letter of Adalberon, Archbishop of Rheims, stylised by Gerbert of Aurillac at the turn of 986 and 987, also mentions a campaign against

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cameram, Hecil ad cellarium, Bernhardus equis prefuit. Huc etiam Bolizlavus et Miseco cum omnibus suis conveniunt omnibusque rite peractis muneribus locupletati discesserunt".

[215] Ibid., 4.9 (7), 140: "In diebus illis Miseco semet ipsum regi dedit et cum muneribus aliis camelum ei presentavit et duas expediciones cum eo fecit".

[216] Labuda, "Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego," 348–349.

[217] Ibid., 347.

[218] *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 985*, 473–474; *Annales Hildesheimenses ad A. 985*, 24. See also Knut Görich, *Otto III., Romanus, Saxonicus et Italicus: Kaiserliche Rompolitik und sächsische Historiographie*, Historische Forschungen 18 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), 86–87; for a different—and perhaps more persuasive—view, see Johannes Fried, "Gnesen—Aachen—Rom: Otto III. und der Kult des heiligen Adalbert; Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben," in P*olen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren: Die Berliner Tagung über den 'Akt von Gnesen'*, edited by Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), 273–279.

"the Sarmatians who call themselves the Guinids".[219] Thietmar also reports that the Emperor marched against the Slavs, without closer specification.[220] The option that the term *Sclavia* denoted Bohemia should be rejected, as Wojtecki proves.[221] In all likelihood, the campaigns were aimed at the Polabian Slavs.

Labuda's conception, however, shows further discrepancies. Thietmar's *Chronicle* notes that Volkold, the Bishop of Meissen, returned home after Meissen Margrave Rikdag's death, and after Boleslav had left Meissen.[222] Nevertheless, Thietmar does not mention any struggles. Herbert Ludat and other historians believe that Thietmar simply failed to report it for one reason or another and that the war concerning Meissen between Otto III or, as the case may be, Ekkehard, and Boleslav II the Přemyslid must have taken place.[223] However, no argument can be proposed other than that this conflict fits into their concept. For them, however, the war in question serves as the basis of that concept. Thus, one cannot rule out the opposing version that Boleslav conceded the area without fighting.[224]

It follows from the above that, even though Labuda rightly points out the interpretative difficulties in the analysis of the chapter in Thietmar's work, he does not disprove the possibility of the Quedlinburg Diet taking place and, by extension, Boleslav II's reconciliation with the Emperor. Moreover, an analysis of accounts of the Imperial annals indicate that the assumptions which determine the work of researchers are often more problematic than the sources themselves. In the following lines, an attempt will be made to propose a somewhat less contradictory solution.[225]

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[219] *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims*, edited by Fritz Weigle, *MGH*, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 2 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1966), no. 91, 120 in Rheims, September 986— the end of Januray 987: "Clara indolens divae memoriae Ottonis cesaris, pace inter duces ac principes redintegrata, proxima aestate legiones militum in Sarmates, quos ea lingua Guinidos dicunt, ibique sex et quadraginta urbes munitissimas sua praesentia ac militum robore cepit, diruit atque vastavit".

[220] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.(8), 142.

[221] Dieter Wojtecki, "Slavica beim Annalisten von Quedlinburg," *ZfOF* 30 (1981): 161–184, at 167–177, 181–182.

[222] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.6 (5), 138: "/Volkold/ post mortem Ricdagi marchionis incliti Ekkihardo succedente et Bolizlavo ad propria remeavit."

[223] Ludat, *An der Elbe und Oder*, 24–27; for the more recent overview, see Gabriele Rupp, *Die Ekkehardinger, Markgrafen von Meißen und ihre Beziehungen zum Reich und zu den Piasten*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 3.691 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1996), 20–22, 50–54.

[224] Similarly Christian Lübke, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slaven an der Elbe und Oder*, vol. 3, *983–1003*, Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des europäischen Ostens 134 (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1986), 47–48.

[225] Bulín, "Polský stát Měška I. a Čechy," 136–161; see also Marie Bláhová, Jan Frolík, and Naďa Profantová, *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české*, vol. 1, *Do roku 1197* (Prague: Paseka, 1999),

In 965, Princess Doubravka came to the Court of Gniezno from Prague, as Mieszko's bride. Her arrival, as well as her contribution to the spread of Christianity, are treated very differently in chronicles.[226] There is little doubt that the purpose of her marriage was mainly political and that not only the Polish duke, but also Boleslav profited from this bond. As for Mieszko, this foresightful move ensured him the military support of the Bohemians and, by extension, victory over Wichmann II and his Liutizians, and later enabled his expansion into Pomerania.[227] Furthermore, the Přemyslids, by virtue of the peace between themselves and the Piasts, were able to maintain their power even outside their domain, for also in the following years, during the three revolts of Henry II the Wrangler, the Bohemian Boleslaves and the Polish Mieszko remained allies.[228]

To be sure, the last of the three revolts had the potential to succeed. Otto II died in Italy on 7th December 983 and, a few days later on Christmas Day, his under-aged son Otto was anointed by John, Archbishop of Ravenna, in Aachen. Henry the Wrangler used this opportunity: he fled from his prison in Utrecht and solemnly entered Cologne.[229] He managed to put through, if temporarily, his claim to the custody of the young King; nevertheless, malicious tongues accused him of craving the Crown,[230] at least according to contemporary sources.[231] Also Thietmar of Merseburg evokes a similar impression. Henry was quite successful at the beginning: he gained the support of magnates in Lotharingia, numerous Saxon

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310–319. This book proposes a similar solution, but does not take into account views and arguments of other historians.

[226] Thietmar mentions a pious woman thanks to whom Mieszko was converted, see *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.55 (35)–56, 194–196. Cf. *Cosmae Chronica* 1.27, 49: "Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCCCLXXVII. Obiit Dubrauca, que quia nimis inproba fuit, iam mulier provecte etatis cum nupsiset Poloniensi duci, peplum capitis sui deposuit et puellarem coronam sibi imposuit, quod erat magna dementia mulieris". On this account, see Labuda, "Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego," 55–79.

[227] *Widukindi Libri tres* 3.68–69, 142–145. On the general conntext, see Labuda, "Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego," 104–127.

[228] See at least pp. 146–148.

[229] *Annales Hildesheimenses ad A. 984*, 24: /Henry II escaped from prison and entered Cologne/... *ac regnum retinuit*...; *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 984*, 470–471. The exposition presented above in the text is traditional and serves as the elementary description of the events as mentioned in the sources. Therefore, this information is not substantiated by further references.

[230] According to the *Annales Quedlinburgense*, Henry only pretended the interest in the custody, but rather... *regnum tyrannice invasit*..., see *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 984*, 471.

[231] Especially the Annals of Quedlinburg have been written in one of the central Ottonian monasteries, whose long-term Abbess originated from this dynasty. However, this source cannot be regarded as official: the critical tone of its author became stronger in dependence on the decrease of the importance of Quedlinburg.

Counts pledged loyalty to him, and his native Bavaria backed him as well. Moreover, the Slavic dukes, Boleslav, Mieszko and Mstivoj, appeared at the Easter Diet in Quedlinburg, promising their support to Henry and paying homage to him as King.[232] However, an influential group of powerful men, led by Archbishop Willigis of Mainz, was not on his side. And it was Willigis who sent out couriers to Italy, to Empress Adelaide (†999). She immediately informed her daughter-in-law empress Theophanu (†991) and her daughter Matilda, abbess of Quedlinburg (†999), and, accompanied by her brother Conrad, King of Burgundy (937–993), and Duke Conrad I of Swabia (983–997), returned with them across the Alps.[233]

Meanwhile Henry offended several of his potential allies when forcing them into unconditional subjugation. They immediately abandoned the Diet of Quedlinburg and set their relatives and friends against him.[234] By the summer of 984, it became clear that Henry's popularity had dramatically decreased. That is why he decided to retreat—initially to Bavaria. From there, he went through Bohemia, where he was ceremoniously welcomed by the duke, to Saxony to hold counsel with his followers for the last time.[235] While Henry was consulting his remaining allies, the Bohemian army halted at Meissen.[236] Boleslav's commander, Wagio, found his way into the town and, after winning the confidence of the inhabitants, asked for a meeting through the mediation of Frederick of Eilenburg, a son of the old Bohemian ally, Dedi.[237] However, as soon as the negotiators emerged from the fortifications, the gate closed behind them, Burgrave Rikdag was murdered and Boleslav gained the upper hand over Meissen.[238]

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[232] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.2 (2), 132: "...auxillium sibi /Henry II the Wrangler/ deinceps ut regi et domino cum iuramentis affirmantes...."; *Annales Hildesheimenses ad A. 984*, 24: "...regnumque eius invadendo, plurimos sibi de Saxonia associavit, qui eum in proximo pascha Quidelingaburg ad regem elegerunt..."

[233] *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 984*, 471–473.

[234] This explanation of Henry's failure gives *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.1 (1), 132.

[235] Ibid., 4.5 (4), 136, /accompanied through Bohemia and/... *per Niseni et Daleminci pagos usque ad Mogelini...*

[236] Ibid., 4.5 (4), 136.

[237] Ibid., 4.5 (4), 136: "Wagio vero miles Bolizlavi, ducis Boemiorum, qui Heinricum cum exrcitu comitatur, cum ad Misni redeundo perveniret, cum habitatoribus eiusdem locutus Frithericum, Rigdagi marchionis tunc in Merseburg commorantis amicum et satellitem, ad aecclesiam extra urbem positam venire et cum eo loqui per internuntium postulat".

[238] Ibid., 4.5 (4), 136: "Hic cum egreditur, porta post eum clauditur, et Ricdagus, eiusdem civitatis custos et inclitus miles, iuxta fluvium, qui Tribisa dicitur, ab hiis dolose occiditur". It is only possible to distinguish between them on the grounds of the fact the Burgrave died in 984 and the Margrave died a year later.

At that time, however, Henry definitely decided to surrender. Therefore he accepted an invitation to the Assembly in Rohr, where he was supposed to hand over Otto III to the Empresses.[239] Although the negotiations were not smooth, Henry finally gave him over to his mother and grandmother. Nevertheless, Henry was not willing to give in without reserve, as the negotiations in Bürstadt in late October of 984 showed.[240] On the contrary, as late as early 985, he provoked a conflict in Bavaria against Henry III the Younger in trying to regain—with military force, if necessary—at least his original domain.[241] However, Henry II the Wrangler surrendered in the end. In mid-year, late June of 985, he arrived in Frankfurt and was welcomed by the two Empresses with honors and respect. He submitted and, instead of punishment, was shown forgiveness and his former Duchy was also granted to him.[242]

At an uncertain point during these events, Margrave Rikdah died.[243] During his relatively short rule, he had succeeded in conquering three southern Saxon Marches and, thus, had gained the upper hand over Eastern Saxony.[244] At the time when Henry became interested in the custody of Otto (i.e. in 984), Rikdag reportedly arranged the marriage of his daughter of an unknown name to Boleslav, a son of the Polish duke, Mieszko.[245] Thus, one must pose the question as to why it was Boleslav II who conquered Meissen, for it is not proved that this step was inevitably connected with the gradual alienation of the Přemyslids and the Piasts.

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[239] Ibid., 4.7–8, 138–140; *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 985*, 474.

[240] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.8, 140.

[241] Ibid., 4.8, 140.

[242] *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 985*, 475: "At dominae, quarum, ut diximus cura regnum regisque regebatur infantia, tanti viri summissa deditione admodum gratulabundae . . . digno eum honore susceptum, gratia fideli donatum, ductoria itidem dignitate sublimatum, deinde non tantum inter amicos, sed etiam inter amicissimos, uti ius propinquitatis exigebat, debito dilectionis venerantur affectu."; *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.8, 140: ". . . magna sedicio, qua Herimanni comitis consilio postmodum finita, regis gratiam in Francanafordi et ducatum dedicius promeruit . . ."

[243] *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 985*, 475. *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.8, 140: ". . . magna sedicio, qua Herimanni comitis consilio postmodum finita, regis gratiam in Francanafordi et ducatum dedicius promeruit."; *Annalista Saxo ad A. 985*, edited by Klaus Nass. *MGH* SS 37 (Hannover: Hahn, 2006), 243; *Annales necrologici Fuldenses*, edited by Georg Waitz. *MGH* SS 13 (Hannover: Hahn, 1881), 205, according to the MS no. 1.

[244] Ludat, *An der Elbe und Oder*, 37–40. On the situation in the eastern Marches, see also Oskar Posse, *Die Markgrafen von Meissen und das Haus Wettin bis zu Konrad dem Grossen* (Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1881), 28–35, 218–227.

[245] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.58 (37), 198. Labuda claims that it was in 985 that Boleslav repudiated his wife. However, this is but an educated guess, see Gerard Labuda, *Mieszko II król Polski, 1025–1034: Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego* (Cracow: Secesja, 1992), 20–21.

It appears so only within the framework of Labuda's thesis. The option thus cannot be ruled out that Boleslav's moves rather agreed with his and Mieszko's common politics. Since this solution also corresponds with the text of the source, it should be conceived as being more likely.

By renouncing his expansion into Meissen,[246] Boleslav II (972–999) soon expressed his willingness to make peace. Together with him, the Polish duke presumably also relinquished his support for Henry II the Wrangler. Mieszko's participation in the campaign against the Slavs, according to the Imperial annals in 985,[247] seems to prove this supposition. The cause of such a swift change might have been Rikdag's death.[248] The same probably holds true for the fact that young Piast prince Boleslav the Brave (992–1025), a nephew of Boleslav II, first "took Margrave Rikdag's daughter, but then he repudiated her and took a wife from Hungary", at least as Thietmar of Merseburg puts it.[249] It was the death of Rikdag, the father of Boleslav's the Brave's wife, and the subsequent diminution of the political importance of the marriage, which presumably caused her rejection.[250] Later on, in 985 or soon after, Ekkehard, a son of former Margrave Gunzelin, was awarded the March of Meissen for his loyalty.[251]

The complicated situation in the East was resolved in early 986 at the Easter Assembly in Quedlinburg. (Also Otto's itinerary, which proves that the King was nearby in Grona on 17th March[252] and in Pöhlde on 9th April 986,[253] does not question his presence at the Diet.) Mieszko I, as well as Boleslav II, met Otto III, Adelaide and Theophanu there. Both Slavic dukes were interested in making peace, especially Mieszko, who presented the

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[246] The sources do not refer to the struggles for Meissen. Thietmar only mentions that Volkold, Bishop of Meissen, returned . . . *post mortem Ricdagi marchionis incliti Ekkihardo succedente et Bolizlavo ad propria remeante . . .*, see *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.6 (5), 138. Grabski also believes that the reconciliation of Otto, Boleslav and Mieszko took place in 985, see Anton F. Grabski, *Bolesław Chrobry: Zarys dziejów politycznych i wojskowych* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, 1964), 54–55.

[247] *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 985*, 473: "Saxones Sclaviam invaserunt, quibus ad supplementum Misacho cum magno exercitu venit . . ."; *Annales Hildesheimenses ad A. 985*, 24: "Et eodem anno Saxones Sclaviam invaserunt, quibus ad supplementum Misaco cum magno exercitu venit."; *Annales Altahenses Maiores ad A. 985*, 15: "Saxones Sclaviam vastant".

[248] See n. 246.

[249] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.58 (37), 198.

[250] There is no need to mention the conrete pieces of evidence of this not uncommon practice.

[251] See n. 246.

[252] *Diplomata Ottonis III.*, edited by Theodor Sickel. *MGH* DD 2.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1893), no. 24, 422–424.

[253] Ibid., no. 25, 425. Otto III also appeared near Quedlinbur a year before, as the charter issued in Grona on 28 March 985 proves, see ibid., no. 11, 407–408.

little King with a camel, and, as all sources report, submitted to him and then they marched together against the Slavs.[254] The campaign was also repeated in the next year, when Otto finally succeeded in subjugating the rebellious "subjects".[255] Peace was established for several years.

But at the turn of 989 and 990, Mieszko unexpectedly attacked and seized unspecified Přemyslid castles and thus conquered a *regnum*.[256] Boleslav immediately swung into action and sent out for the Liutizians. Mieszko also asked for aid—from the Empire. Thus, in a land called *Selpoli*, four armies met. The battle, however, did not commence. On the contrary, peace was made, in particular, by virtue of Archbishop Gisilher and Margrave Ekkehard. The Imperial troops and the Polish army finally returned home. The only success of the Bohemian warriors was the plunder of an unknown castle, perhaps Němčí in Silesia[257] (or the one in Lusatia).[258]

The sense, upon reflection on the extent of the Přemyslid and Piast realms and, by extension, on the issue of Mieszko's conquest of the Cracow region or Silesia, have already been questioned above.[259] Nevertheless, the differences between the description of the borders (or rather claims to the areas where ducal power had not yet been established) in Henry IV's charter of the mid-980s and the *Dagomę iudex* of 985–992 imply that the controversial area was rather the present-day Silesia. However, this clue

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[254] *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 986*, 476: "Otto rex adhuc puerulus cum magno exercitu Saxonum perrexit in Sclaviam, ibique ad eum venit Musacho cum multitudine nimia, obtulitque ei unum camelum et alia xenia multa, se ipsum etiam subdidit potestati illius."; *Annales Altahenses Maiores ad A. 986*, 15: "Oddo rex puer cum magno exercitu Sclaviam vastat et ibi Misaconem obvium habuit cum exercitu et muneribus."; *Annales Hildeshei-menses ad A. 986*, 24: "Otto rex adhuc puerulus marches to Sclavia."; *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.9 (7), 140: "Celebrata proxima paschalis solemnitas in Quidelingenburg a rege, . . . Huc etiam Bolizlavus et Miseco cum omnibus suis conveniunt omnibusque rite peractis muneribus locupletati discesserunt".

[255] This is at least the view of the imperial annals. On the great rebellion of the Slavs in 983 and its reasons, se at least Christian Lübke, "Der Aufstand der Elbslaven im Jahr 983 und seine Folgen," in *Svatý Vojtěch, Čechové a Evropa*, edited by Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1998), 109–121.

[256] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.11 (9)–14, 144–148.

[257] *Annales Pragenses*, edited by Josef Emler, FRB 2 (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1875), *ad A. 990*, 377: *Nemcis perdita est.*; *Cosmae Chronica* 1.28, 51, according to the Sázava MS A³: *Item eodem anno Nemci perdita est.* On their sources, see Václav Novotný, "Studien zur Quellenkunde Böhmens," *MIÖG* 24 (1903): 587–590, and also Dušan Třeštík, "Anfänge der böhmischen Geschichtsschreibung: Die ältesten Prager Annalen," *StŽr* 20 (1978): 1–37; Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 535–935*, 99–116; on the arguments against Třeštík's and Novotný's views, see Gerard Labuda, "Jeden czy dwa roczniki niemieckie u podstaw polskiego rocznikarstwa?" *StŽr* 39 (2001): 7–27.

[258] This view only appears in Jan Natanson-Leski, "Państwo Mieszka Pierwszego," *Studia wczesnośredniowieczne* 4 (1958): 7–106, at 52–55.

[259] Cf. above, pp. 64–67.

must be conceived of as completely insufficient, considering the unclear chronology of the origins of the *Dagomę iudex* and also with regard to the function of the two documents.

Another clue may permit the identification of the site where the armies met in 990. Thietmar terms it as *Selpoli*.[260] In his chronicle, this toponym appears more than once[261] and other sources too provide this name.[262] *Selpoli* is most often localized somewhere on the borders of the March of Meissen, where the interests of the Holy Roman Empire, Poland, Bohemia and tribes of the Polabian Slavs overlapped.[263] However, if the encounter took place there, the question of the link between the site of the encounter and the localization of the *regnum ablatum*, allegedly taken away from the Přemyslid domain, remains unanswered. Some researchers, after all, question the relevance of the identification of *Selpoli* in finding the *regnum ablatum*.[264]

Thus, Cosmas of Prague (†1125) is the only medieval author who connects a specific year with the loss of a concrete area which allegedly pertained to Boleslav II (972–999) until the late tenth century.[265] He indeed proceeds from earlier sources, but they were also imperfect. After all, the

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[260] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.11, 144.

[261] Ibid., 2.(9), 54: "Gero Orientalium marchio Lusizi et Selpuli, Miseconem quoque cum sibi subiectis imperiali subdidit dicioni."; Ibid., 6.34–35, 314: "Bolizlavus autem Luzici, Zara et Selpuli denuo occupat et non longe post Budusin civitatem presidio Hirimanni comitis munitam socer invidus possedit".

[262] *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, no. 231, 316–317, of 29 July 961; Ibid., no. 406, 552–553, of 971; *Diplomata Ottonis III.*, no. 186, 595.

[263] For probably the most persuasive solution, see Gerard Labuda, "Studia diplomaticzne i geograficzno-historiczne z dziejów Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej," in Gerard Labuda, *Fragmenty dziejów Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej*, vol. 1 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1960): 148–164, esp. 157–161. The author localises this area to Lower Lusatia.

[264] Among them e.g. Grabski, *Bolesław Chrobry*, 47–55. Natanson–Leski, "Państwo Mieszka Pierwszego," 52–55. On the basis of this identification and localisation of the castle of Němčí in Lusatia, Natanson-Leski questions the idea that the Přemyslids and Piasts struggled for Silesia in 990, since he does not believe in the authenticity of the charter under discussion and, by extension, of the borders description contained in this charter. Thus he considers that the Přemyslids conquered part of Lusatia.

[265] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.34, 60–61: "Eodem anno (999) Gaudentius, qui et Radim, frater sancti Adalberti, ordinatus est episcopus ad titulum Gnezdensis ecclesie.... Post cuius obitum *(Boleslavs II)* filius eius tercius Bolezlaus, ut supra relatum est, successit in ducatum; sed non eisdem rerum successibus nec paternis auspiciis terminos acquisitos obtinuit. Nam dux Poloniensis Mesco quo non fuit alter dolosior homo, mox urbem Kracov abstulit dolo, omnibus quos ibi invenit Boemiis extinctus gladio. Fuerant autem duci Bolezlao ex coniuge nobili duo fratres, fecundae matris gloria nati scilicet Ŏdalricus et Iaromir."; On the rejection of an inevitable crisis after Boleslav II's death, see Kalhous, "Boleslav III.," 221–229.

analysed reference also reflects the problematic nature of Cosmas's chronology and factual description as far as the tenth century is concerned—the reference is so written that Jaromír and Oldřich might be conceived of as sons of Boleslav III (999–1002), although the contemporary sources confirm that they were brothers.[266] The ambiguity of Cosmas's report, however, cannot be regarded as proof of his credibility. Of much greater importance is the fact that Cosmas links the trickery resulting in the acquisition of Cracow to Mieszko I (†992), although the Polish duke was already dead at that time. Gerard Labuda uses this point in his argument: in interpreting this account, he claims that a slip of the pen, that is referring to the year 999 instead of 989, is more likely than the confusion of Boleslav I The Brave (992–1025) with his father Mieszko I (†992).[267] However, since Boleslav I The Brave is named in one place in the chronicle, Labuda's statement cannot be considered plausible.[268] Otherwise it would be necessary to clarify the question as to why Cosmas frequently confused Mieszko with Boleslav and used only his true name in connection with his death. Gerard Labuda explains this fact by means of a hypothesis proposing that Cosmas may have connected Mieszko's death only to a time after 1000.[269] However, such an explanation also rather contradicts than supports Labuda's doubts about Cosmas's information as a whole.

More significant objections can be raised when considering the Chronicle of Cosmas as a whole. Cracow plays a relatively conspicuous role in this work. Cosmas refers to this castle once more with regard to Břetislavs I's campaign 1039. He reports that Cracow belonged among the castles allegedly plundered by the Bohemian duke.[270] More recent research has proved that, given the time limitations, it was impossible to raid Cracow and Gniezno at the same time with one army within a relatively short period.[271] Thus, it seems that Cosmas mentions Cracow among the

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[266] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.34, 61: *Fuerant autem duci Bolezlao ex coniuge nobili duo fratres, fecundae matris gloria nati scilicet Ŏdalricus et Iaromir.* On the allegedly lost generation of the Přemyslids, see Fiala, "Dva kritické příspěvky," 40–56. For the table comparing Cosmas's dating with the "real" dates, see Barbara Krzemieńska, *Břetislav I.: Čechy a střední Evropa v prvé polovině XI. století*, 2nd ed. (Prague: Garamond, 1999), 80–81.

[267] Labuda, "Bolesław Chrobry w Krakowie," 283–287.

[268] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.41, 76, of the year 1025: *XV. kal. Iulii obiit rex Bolezlaus.*

[269] Labuda, "Bolesław Chrobry w Krakowie," 286–287.

[270] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.2, 83.

[271] Barbara Krzemieńska, "W sprawie w chronologii wyprawy Brzetysława I na Polskę," *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Łodzkiego*, Nauki humanistyczno-społeczne 1, no. 12 (1959): 23–37; Barbara Krzemieńska, *Boj knížete Břetislava I. o upevnění českého státu, 1039–1041,*

conquered castles in trying to compensate for the loss of the castle at the end of the tenth century, at least by means of narration, and also because of the position which Cracow held in the time of Cosmas. Boleslav II's role in the Chronicle of Cosmas cannot be neglected either: this Canon of Prague depicts Boleslav II (972–999) as an ideal ruler and one cannot rule out that, precisely for this reason, Cosmas refuses to connect his reign with land losses. From the above, it merely follows that the Cracow episode, as Cosmas puts it, would be devoid of any sense if the idea of Bohemian rule over Cracow had not been alive in the Bohemian tradition.[272] The existence of such a tradition is but evidence of the claims which the Přemyslids could put forward and not proof of Přemyslid rule over Cracow in the tenth century.

The silence of sources concerning the conflict between the Piasts and the Přemyslids provides a certain clue. With regard to the number of the sources, such a clue is inevitably poor. Still, it is not negligible: both dukes appear relatively often in Imperial sources and their authors are well acquainted with the situation on the eastern borders of the Empire.

An attempt to employ the findings of archaeology in backing Hynek Bulín or Gerard Labuda's solutions faces general problems of archaeological chronology, for this historical discipline can seldom specify a date with accuracy to within a year. A reliable image can be depicted on an archaeological basis, provided that one manages with a relative chronology and trusts a sequence of layers distinguished by an archaeologist.[273] The absolute chronology of ceramics is commonly capable of an accuracy of 50–100 years. Also the data based on measuring radioactive decay of Carbon-14 become less accurate as the analysed samples approach the modern period, and the ascertained interval may correspond to a time span of 30 years.

Thus, the only method which makes it possible to date accurately is dendrochronology, an auxiliary science that, on the grounds of regionally

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Rozpravy ČSAV, řada společenskovědní 89, no. 5 (Prague: Academia, 1979). See also Max Perlbach, "Die Kriege Heinrichs III. gegen Böhmen, 1039–1041," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 10 (1870): 427–465; Erich Steindorff, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich III.*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1874), 60–68, 89–93, 103, 106–112; Václav Novotný, *Od Břetislava I. po Otakara I., 1035–1197*, vol. 1.2 of*České dějiny* (Prague: Laichter, 1913), 15–55, 656–658.

[272] Krzemieńska, *Břetislav I.*, 205–209.

[273] The term "to trust" is not used accidentally, but with regard to the fact that the archaeologists process the data which come to be the only extant evidence after the termination of archaeological research and which result from the only partly controllable procedures.

and chronologically determined tree-ring formation under specific circumstances, is actually capable of dating acquired samples to a concrete year by means of firmly dated sequences.[274]

Cracow Castle contained suitable wooden fractions. However, further research of those samples and their context point out the difficulties in interpretation that may be connected with the "unquestionable" data acquired in this way. On the basis of convincing archaeological argumentation, Andrzej Kukliński reaches the clear-cut conclusion that the samples of tree-rings and of Carbon-14 belong to one layer alone.[275] Findings resulting from the analyses of the natural sciences, in contrast, point to a considerably wide interval of the origins of the fortifications. Ceramics date the ramparts back to the mid-tenth century, dendrochronology to 987–1016 and Carbon-14 to 1006±10.[276] However, an analysis of further, carbonized samples, excavated from under the destruction layer and dated on the basis of Carbon-14, demonstrate the following dating: 780 ±40, 750 ±30 and 725 ±25.[277] Andrzej Kukliński first proposes to reconsider the dating of ceramics, or to regard the archaeological interpretation as erroneous and takes into account two stages instead of one.[278] Finally, however, he concludes that, even if accepting the existence of two stages, the discrepancies between the purely archeologically acquired data and those

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[274] Certain limitations are related to the quality of the provided samples—the date of the felling can only be ascertained on the basis of the layers under the bark.

[275] Andrzej Kukliński, "Wczesnośredniowieczne obwałowania Wawelu w Krakowie," *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 55 (2003): 33–80; Andrzej Kukliński, "Spór wskół datowania wczesnośredńiowieczego wału obronnego na Wawelu w Krakowie," in *Polonia Minor Medii Aevi: Studia ofiarowane panu profesorowi Andrzejowi Żakiemu*, edited by Zenon Woźniak and Jan Gancarski (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności; Muzeum Podkarpackie, 2003), 419–444.

[276] The dendrochronologists insist on the reliability of the data which they have acquired, see Marek Krąpiec, "Dendrochronologiczne datowanie węgli drzewnych z wczesnośredniowiecznego wału na Wawelu," *SprArch* 50 (1998): 293–297; Marek Kara and Marek Krąpiec, "Wyniki badań archeo-dendrochronologicznych wybranych grodzisk wczesnośredniowiecznych z terenu historyczniego Wielkopolski, przeprowadzonych w roku 2003," *Fontes archeologici Posnanienses* 41 (2005): 211–223; Jacek Poleski and Marek Krąpiec, "Das frühmittelalterliche Kleinpolen im Lichte neuerer dendrochronologischen Datierungen," in *Probleme der mitteleuropäischen Dendrochronologie und naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Talaue der March*, edited by Lumír Poláček and Jitka Dvorská, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 5, Spisy ArÚ AV ČR Brno 15 (Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 1999), 85–95.

[277] Andrzej Kukliński, "Pierwsze odkrycie wału wczesnopiastowskiego (?) na Wawelu datowanego dendrochronologicznie," *Sprawozdania archeologiczne* 47 (1995): 237–254, at 243–244.

[278] Ibid., 245–251.

based on methods of the natural sciences would not be sufficiently clari-
fied anyway.[279]

Apart from the disputes over the dating of the Cracow fortifications,
the acquired data still fail to make it possible to safely pair archaeological
situations with concrete historical events: the *datum post quem* of 987,
based on dendrochronology, enables any historical interpretation to be
proposed. It might back Labuda's thesis about the early loss of Cracow
and the swiftly following fortification at the behest of the Piast dukes.[280]
However, it might also give evidence of an increasing tension between
the Přemyslids and the Piasts and, by extension, of the Přemyslid efforts
to strengthen Cracow's fortifications. The hypothesis of an abrupt and
accidental fire, which might have made the Castle's owners re-fortify this
settlement, also cannot be ruled out. According to Cosmas, after all, the
Castle was taken rather by treason than by siege and combat.[281] When
sticking to the text of this relatively late account, the change of ruler
would not be apparent in the archaeological situation.

Also the case of Wroclaw is not unambiguous and archaeological data
alone do not make it possible to establish only one chronology of the
political history.[282]

Similarly, an analysis of the architecture of church buildings constructed
of stone does not present convincing arguments in favour of the solutions

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[279] Andrzej Kukliński, "Wczesnośredniowieczne warstwy osadnicze Krakowa-Wawelu
(odkryte w wykopie 16, rejon IX) a relikty jego wału obronnego—datowanego dendroo-
chronologiczne w okres po 1016 roku," *SprArch* 50 (1998): 277–292.

[280] The fact that dendrochronology dates the fortification of the suburb to 973, although
at that time the Přemyslid Dukes ruled over Cracow for at least eight years, questions the
link between the acquisition of the area and the construction of a new fortification. On the
chronology of the suburb, see Kukliński, "Spór wskół datowania," 419–444.

[281] This mention is probably related to the purpose of the text on the one hand, and
Cosmas's negative approach to the Poles on the other.

[282] Paweł Rzeźnik and Adam Żurek "Wrocław około roku 1000," in *Polska na przelomie
I i II tysiąclecia*, edited by Szczęsny Skibiński (Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki,
2001), 335–352, at 346. The authors determine several stages of the develepoment of the
castle from a minor mid-tenth-century settlement, which was newly fortified in the 980s
and extended with the cathedral around 1000. The settlement was destroyed as early as
the middle of the eleventh century. See also Józef Kaźmierczyk, *Ku początkom Wrocławia*,
vol 1, *Warsztat budowlany i kultura mieszkalna Ostrowa Tumskiego od X do połowy XI
wieku* (Wrocław: Volumen, 1991); Józef Kaźmierczyk et al., *Ku początkom Wrocławia.* Vol.
3, *Gród na Ostrowie Tumskim w X–XIII wieku: Uzupełnienie do cz. 1 i 2* (Wrocław: Sudety,
1995); Krzysztof Wachowski, "Wagi i odważniki na Śląsku wczesnośredniowiecznym na
tle porównawczym," *Przegląd Archeologiczny* 22 (1974): 173–207. Especially the proof of
the existence of Wrocław's harbour is interesting. For further precious comments, see
Ewa Kowalczyk, "Momenty geograficzne państwa Bolesława Chrobrego: Na styku historii i
archeologii," *KwH* 107, no. 2 (2000): 41–76, at 68–73.

touched upon above, for the History of Art is not capable of precise and reliable dating. Moreover, recently arguments have been proposed which correlate the origins of the earliest Polish stone buildings, mostly extant in fragments, with allegedly Bohemian patron saints and thus also "Bohemian" builders of the second quarter of the eleventh century. They rather connect the earlier period with wooden constructions.[283] Nevertheless, at least in general terms, one may consider the Přemyslid influence on the basis of St. Wenceslas appearing as a patron saint in this region. However, the Piasts were closely related to the Přemyslids and Boleslav I the Brave (992–1025) was grandson of Boleslav I of Bohemia (935–972).

All the conclusions we made clearly testify to the extreme difficulties with the establishing of a chronology of the expansion and fall of the early medieval realms of Piasts and Přemyslids. Contemporary sources mention wars between Ottonian Kings and Přemyslids without interest in the structure and extent of Přemyslid realm. The story about the erosion of Přemyslid realm is also weakly documented and not only the chronology, but the extent of Přemyslid losses too are still disputable. As we have seen in the first chapter of this book, the story of the expansion and crisis of early medieval monarchies in Central Europe is more a model that owes much to the analogies from different parts of early medieval Europe, rather than solid hypothesis based on the considerable number of primary sources.

Naturally, there is some evidence for the great extent of the Přemyslid tenth-century realm. It is hardly surprising that the most important examples are to be found in the sources that were written in distant parts of Europe—in the Byzantine Empire and in Spain. The report of Ibrahim ibn Jaʿkúb, who came to Central Europe from Umayyad Spain in approximately the 960s, has traditionally been regarded as one of the most plausible sources proving the existence of the hypothetical realms of the Přemyslids and Piasts.[284] Its value is diminished by the fact that it did not survive as an independent text, but only through citations in the works of the Arabian geographers, al-Udri and al-Bakri, from the end of the second third of the eleventh century, and al-Qazwini and al-Himyari from the

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[283] Zygmunt Świechowski, "Najdawnijsza architektura murowana w Polsce: Jak dawna?" in *Polonia Minor Medii Aevi: Studia ofiarowane panu professorowi Andrzejowi Żakiemu*, edited by Zenon Woźniak and Jan Gancarski (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności; Muzeum Podkarpackie, 2003), 133–163.

[284] On the overview of the viewpoints of earlier literature, see Gerard Labuda, "Ibrahim ibn Jakub: Najstarsza relacja w nowym wydaniu," *RoczH* 16 (1947): 100–183, at 107–108.

thirteenth century. The part of Ibrahim's account related to the Czech lands is cited only by al-Bakri,[285] whose work is extant in two relatively late manuscripts of 1337 and 1447.[286] Despite this complication, Arabists regard Ibrahim's passages as reliably distinguishable. After all, al-Bakri clearly quotes them in his work and introduces them with the following words: "Ibrahim ibn Jaʿkúb preserved for us…"[287]

The authenticity of accounts mediated in this way can be checked only to a certain extent. The passages concerning Central Europe can be verified in two cases: in the description of Mieszko's army, as mentioned by al-Bakri[288] and al-Qazwini,[289] and in the description of Prague, cited in the works of al-Bakri[290] and al-Himyari.[291] Al-Bakri and al-Himyari's citations of Ibrahim's work concerning Prague differ in their emphasis: while al-Bakri deals rather with the conditions of trade in Prague, al-Himyari describes

[285] Ján Pauliny, *Arabské správy o Slovanoch, 9.–12. storočie* (Bratislava: Veda, 1999), 76.

[286] *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba*, 8–15. The third, so-called Lindberg's manuscript has not been preserved until the present time.

[287] *Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿqūb Dikr as–Saqāliba*, 116; *Zpráva Ibráhíma ibn Jaʿkúba*, chap. 2, 411.

[288] *Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿqūb Dikr as–Saqāliba*, 117: "Mieszko levies taxes in market coins and pays his soldiers from it.… Mieszko has three thousand armoured warriors. A hundred of them corresponds to a thousand other soldiers. Mieszko gives clothes to his soldiers and provides them with everything they need…"

[289] *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba*, 91: "Mᵉško. A large city in the lands of the Slavs, to the south of the sea, in the middle of thick forests, where armies march with difficulty. The name of its king is Mᵉško; it is called after him. It provides honey, meat and fish to eat. Their king has only infantry at his disposal, since horses are not available in those lands. The taxes collected in his land belong to him. He pays his troops every month and if need be, he gives them horses, saddles, bridles, weapons and all they need."

[290] *Zpráva Ibráhíma ibn Jaʿkúba*, chap. 6, 413–414: "And the town of Frāgha is built of stone and lime. It is the most wealthy of lands (cities) in goods. Russians and Slavs come with goods from the city of Krākūa here. And from the lands of the Turks, Muslims, Jews and the Turks come to them with goods and trade weights and export slaves, tin and (various) kinds of fur from them. Among the northern lands, their lands are best provided with subsistence. They sell as much wheat for one kinshar as a man needs for one month, and they sell as much barley for one kinshar as one horse needs for fourty nights and they sell ten hens for one kinshar. In the town of Brāgha, they produce saddles, bridles and perishable shields used in other lands. In the land of Būyama, they produce light kerchiefs out of very delicate net which are of no use. At any time, their price is ten kerchiefs for one kinshar and they buy and sell by means of them. And they have stocks of them. They are their fortune and price of (all) things for them. They buy wheat, flour, horses, gold, silver and all things for them. A peculiarity is that the inhabitants of Būyama are dark, with black hair, a fair complexion is rare in them."

[291] *Zpráva Ibráhíma ibn Jaʿkúba*, 420: "B.rāgha(t). It is a town which borders the area of the Turks; it is built on a river, which is there, of stone and lime. It is smaller than cities and larger than villages. There is a market in it with all goods (necessary) for travelling as well as settled life. In its upper part (or above it), there is a large fortified stronghold and there is a source of water in it, flowing on the surface, and its water soaks plain parts of its (of the stronghold or town) basin."

the appearance of the settlement. Both of them claim that Prague is built out of stone and lime. Although the two accounts, allegedly taken over from Ibrahim's work, differ, one still cannot reject the possibility that Ibrahim is their original author. This reflection is supported by the fact that they do not contradict each other on any point. Dissimilarities in these descriptions can be explained by the different interests of the users of Ibrahim's geography.[292] The text analysed here certainly expresses the viewpoints and opinions of a Muslim convert from contemporary Spain of the tenth century and his perception of the area of current Central Europe. In particular, this fact must be respected in an analysis of any mention regarding internal conditions. Nevertheless, it does not seem that this finding makes it necessary to reject the testimony of this work as a source in another regard also, namely in the description of the extent of Boleslav's domain.[293]

In connection with considerations of the size of Central European realms, a statement is interesting which appears only in one line of the manuscript tradition of Ibrahim's work, namely in al-Bakri's text. He writes that, according to Ibrahim, a certain *Būyislav* was King of *Frāgha, Buyama* and *T.rkūā*.[294] The fact that it reads *K(a)rākūa* in two other places results in the majority of researchers identifying this town with the present-day Cracow.[295]

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[292] For the analysis of the accounts of Mieszko's army and the issue of the general plausibility of his work, see below, pp. 38–41.

[293] It would be, indeed, erroneous to consider the form of Boleslav's rule in Cracow on the basis of this account; little wonder that no researcher attempted to do this on these grounds.

[294] *Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿqūb Dikr as–Saqāliba*, 116; *Zpráva Ibráhíma ibn Jaʿkúba*, chap. 2, 411.

[295] *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba*, 61, n. 16. For the further two passages containing the term *Krâkûâ*, or *Krâkwâ*, see ibid., 72–73, n. 34. Bernard Stasiewski, *Untersuchungen über drei Quellen zur ältesten Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte Polens* (Bresslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 24. Breslau: Müller und Seiffert, 1933), 20–28 in agreement with Zakrzewski, puts forward a methodologically valid objection that Ibrahim's description did not necessarily reflect reality, but rather Ibrahim's own perceptions of the world around him. This is, indeed, an apparent and generally valid observation: we are not able to perceive anything else directly, our image of the world is created by critical reflections as well as cultural tradition, which does not always let us see things that a member of another culture would notice. But a precondition of communicability is a common frame of reference, and a precondition of practical usefulness of the conveyed matter is an effort to reflect the structures of the described matter by means of the structure of a work. The question is, in what terms should the text be useful? That is why one must know the purpose of a given source when defining a "level of reality". From the viewpoint of reflections on the methodical purity of Stasiewski's statements, it must also be considered as questionable that this author, on the one hand, rejects Ibrahim's account as insufficiently reliable evidence, and at the same time, on the other hand, makes efforts to prove, on its basis, among other

The fact itself that Ibrahim mentioned *Krākūa* implies that it must have been a relatively significant centre. Moreover, the Arab traveler claimed that it was the place from which *ar-Rūsu wa-sh-Sakhālibatu* that is "Russians and Slavs" came to Prague in order to trade.[296] Thus, *Krākūa* must have been of economic importance. Besides the present-day Cracow, no other site with a similar name and significance is known. Also Ibrahim's statement that Boleslav's lands can be traversed in three weeks from Prague to Cracow proves unambiguously that, in Ibrahim's opinion, Cracow was part of Boleslav's domain, which supports the idea of identification of *T.rkūā* with *Krākūa*.[297] Moreover, Kowalski shows how *Krākūa* may have turned into *T.rkūā* by emphasizing the similarity between the Maghreb *k* and the classic *t*. It is true that the hypothesis of Boleslav's alleged upper hand over "the Turks" cannot be definitely rejected on this basis. On the other hand, this account cannot be used, as Bernard Stasiewski does, to disprove the idea of Boleslav's domination over Cracow.[298]

We can also mention the contradiction between the fact that Ibrahim ibn Jaʿkúb calls Mieszko the ruler of "the largest Slavic country" and the hypothesis of Boleslav's rule in present-day South Poland.[299] However, it would be questionable to regard these hyperboles as a reflection of a clear idea of the size of the amorphous Piast and Přemyslid realms. One would first have to assume that such realms existed. Even when accepting this means of interpretation, our doubts would be undermined by differences between the versions of al-Bakri and al-Qazwini: While al-Bakri's citation actually describes Mieszko's domain as "the largest", al-Qazwini's text merely calls it "large".[300]

Nonetheless, it is not an identification of the described locations that plays the key role in an interpretation of Ibrahim ibn Jaʿkúb's account.

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things, that Boleslav was not Lord of Cracow but of the Turks, i.e. Hungarians, whose lands he conquered, at least partly, after the Battle of Lechfeld in 955.

[296] However, Stasiewski, *Untersuchungen*, 22–26 also points out that even the present-day Cracow in Lesser Poland is not necessarily identifiable with Ibrahim ibn Jaʿkúb's Cracow.

[297] *Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿqūb Dikr as–Saqāliba*, 116; *Zpráva Ibráhíma ibn Jaʿkúba*, chap. 5, 413; *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba*, 49. Reinke calculates the average speed of the Imperial Court at 30km per day, which may also be regarded as relevant in this regard, see Martina Reinke, "Die Reisegeschwindigkeit der deutschen Könige im 11. und 12. Jh. nördlich der Alpen," *BlldLG* 123 (1987): 225–251, at 236–241.

[298] *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba*, 61, n. 16.

[299] *Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿqūb Dikr as–Saqāliba*, 117; *Zpráva Ibráhíma ibn Jaʿkúba*, chap. 8, 415; *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba*, 91.

[300] *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba*, 91, n. 73. See Labuda, "Ibrahim ibn Jakub," 134, 145–146.

The term "to be King of" is essential in this regard.[301] First of all, Ibrahim's formulation implies that he considered the Cracow region an established entity. In addition, it is likely that he believed that Boleslav ruled over Prague, Bohemia, as well as Cracow in a similar way. This is, however, difficult to prove, if only for the reason that Ibrahim himself did not specify the form of Boleslav's rule. It is thus not possible to state any details concerning this account, although Ibrahim's account can be regarded as the only more or less unquestionable piece of evidence of Boleslav's relationship to Cracow.

Different problems are connected with the interpretation of another work, that is, the treatise *De administrando imperio* by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959), which Central European historians have intensively used in their efforts to reconstruct the structures of power in a given area in the tenth century. This work survived in a sole manuscript from the end of the eleventh century, but was compiled on the basis of numerous earlier sources already in the mid-tenth century. It is a very demanding task to distinguish and date older layers in Constantine's work. The section discussed here is connected with the mention of the so-called White Croats. Only two chapters refer to them: 30 and 31. Chapter 31 is supposed to have been added to Constantine's work only later, in 955–973. The reason for this assumption is the different style, as well as contradictions between the statements of Chapters 30 and 31, concerning the relationship of the White Croats to the Franks and Hungarians.[302]

When regarding this work as an attempt to write a global geography with ethnographic and historical excursuses,[303] the text of both accounts makes it possible to localize the White Croats[304] (and other ethnicities) relatively precisely in the area, since the interpolator of Constantine's

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[301] Owing to the unfamiliarity with Arabic, one must work with a translation. Thus, the terminology of the original text cannot be analysed here and the available translations must be used.

[302] See *Die Byzantiner und ihre Nachbarn: Die De administrando imperio genannte Lehrschrift des Kaisers Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos für seinen Sohn Romanos*, translated by Klaus Belke and Peter Soustal, Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 19 (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1995), 158.

[303] Regarding the substantiation of this approach, see *Konstantini De administrando imperio*, chap. 30, 387.

[304] It is not possible to decide who these Croats were. Since there is no evidence of their own tradition, one cannot regard them as the tribe in the sense proposed in Reinhard Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Das Werden des frühmittelalterlichen gentes*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1961).

work mentions that the White Croats are settled next to Bavaria and sub-
jected to Otto, King of the Franks, but have their own ruler and main-
tain friendly relations with the Turks.[305] The interpolator also sketches
the extent of their country with his mention of the regular raids by the
Franks, Turks and Pechenegs.[306] According to him, they are neighbours
to not only the Franks but also to the pagan Serbs.[307] The White Croats
themselves are not baptized, as Constantine himself puts it.[308] Also the
Zahumlians allegedly come from the North, from the Vistula, where their
pagan relatives called *Litziki* still live.[309] Nevertheless, neither Constantine
nor his interpolator write anything about the internal organisation of
the White Croats' country, and Boleslav is not mentioned either. It is not
clear to what extent Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his interpolator's
account can serve as proof of the identification of the White Croats' realm
with Boleslav I's domain.[310] The sources written by those who actually
visited these areas and who mention the Croats—for instance, a merchant
from the North whose account became a source for the extended trans-
lation of Paulus Orosius' chronography, the author of the *Josippon*, the
author of the description in Henry IV's charter of 1086 and the anonymous
author who wrote the *First Old Slavonic Legend*—refer to a mix of various
ethnics, among them also the Croats or, as the case may be, two Croat
peoples. According to Paulus Orosius' chronography in Alfred the Great's
recension from the end of the ninth century, it is possible to localize the
Croats to the east of the Dolomici and to the south-east of an otherwise
unknown country, *Mæþa*.[311] The book, *Josippon*, written shortly after 953

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[305] *Konstantini De administrando imperio*, chap. 30, 387–388.
[306] Ibid., chap. 31, 390. That is why Třeštík believes in the existence of Boleslav's domain
in the Cracow region and further to the East already around 950, see Dušan Třeštík, *Mýty
kmene Čechů, 7.–10. století: Tři studie ke 'starým pověstem českým'* (Prague: Lidové noviny,
2003), 84–85.
[307] *Konstantini De administrando imperio*, chap. 31, 389.
[308] Ibid., chap. 31, 390. Constantine's efforts to distinguish between the baptised Sou-
thern Croats and the pagan Northern or White Croats do not inevitably contradict Labu-
da's and Třeštík's hypothesis that Constantine identified White Croats' domain with
Boleslav I's realm. It suffices to point out that this Byzantine Emperor believed that even
Great Moravia was not christianised, cf. ibid., chap. 40, 396.
[309] Ibid., chap. 33, 392.
[310] Dušan Třeštík, *Mýty kmene Čechů*, 82–88; see also Gerard Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo
słowiańskie: Państwo Samona* (Poznań: Księgarnia akademicka, 1949), 211–216. Pohl, *Die
Awaren*, 261–266 claims that these Croats were already scattered throughout Central
Europe by the Avars in the 7th century. This, however, does not answer the question as to
what Constantine thought of them.
[311] *Boc þe man Orosius nemned*, edited by Lubomír E. Havlík, *MMFH* 3 (Brno: Universita
J. E. Purkyně, 1969), 338: *Ond be eastan Dalamentsan sindon Horigti . . . Be norþan Horoti is*

and, unfortunately, extant only in late fragments, mentions the existence of various peoples, lands and towns, too.[312] Amongst others, it names some *Boymin*, probably inhabitants of Bohemia, as well as the Lučans (Lendians), Cracowians, Serbs, Moravians, and Croats. Localization of these "ethnics" is impossible, but one can claim that, for a closer observer, the Croats, Bohemians and Moravians were distinct entities. This also follows from a passage in the *First Old Slavonic Legend*, where Drahomira's escape to the Croats is mentioned.[313] Furthermore, on the basis of Henry IV's charter to the bishopric of Prague, which will be dealt with in detail later in this book, one can propose a link between the Croats and the area of the present-day Silesia[314] or maybe Silesia and North Bohemia.[315]

Nevertheless, the texts written by Alfred the Great's contemporaries, the author of the *Josippon*, *Descriptio civitatum*,[316] or the author of the description in Henry IV's charter, can serve as sources for an explanation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *Vorstellungswelt*: it is apparent that, in contrast to the sources giving a closer perspective, who refer to a motley of various "ethnics" in a relatively limited area, Constantine visualizes numerous ethnics interconnected by a faith in their common origin and

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Mæþa lone; . . . On the orientation of this description, see Lubomír E. Havlík, "Slované v anglosaské chorografii Alfréda Velikého," *Vznik a počátky Slovanů* 5 (1964): 53–85, at 63–67; Janet M. Bately, "The Relationship Between Geographical Information in the Old English Orosius and Latin Texts Other Than Orosius," *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972): 45–62. Both researchers point out the discrepancies which probably resulted from an attempt to adjust the real situation to the sector of a circle.

[312] *Jossipón*, edited by Ivan Hrbek, MMFH 3 (Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1969), 380–381. See also David Flusser, "Zpráva o Slovanech v hebrejské kronice z 10. století," ČČH 48–49 (1947–1948): 238–241. There are eleventh-twelfth-centuries fragments of this work which contain accounts of the Slavs. Witczak connects these accounts with the Southern Slavs, see Krzysztof T. Witczak, "Ludy i państwa słowiańske w tzw. Księdze Josippon," Slavia Antiqua 34 (1993, published in 1994): 77–86.

[313] *První staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu: Charvátohlaholská redakce*. Edited by J. Vajs. In *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Lidmile*, edited by J. Vajs (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1929), 42.

[314] Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, 535–935, 66–67.

[315] Jaroslav Bakala, "Severní Chorvati a Slezsko. Příspěvek k zeměpisu a etnicitě středoevropských Slovanů v 9. a 10. století," *SlSb* 65 (1967): 372–376. The author localises them to the northern Podkrkonoší regіоn and the right bank of the Oder and believes that it was the Croat lands that were Thietmar's *regnum ablatum*. Simultaneously, he identifies them with the White Croats and believes that they formed a tribe as well as a tribal union situated in the northern and central part of Silesia. Cf. also Jaroslav Bakala, *Bílí Chorvati v proměnách raněstředověké Evropy*: *Laboratoř nepřetržitého enigmatu* (Opava: Slezská univerzita, 2004).

[316] *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii*, edited by L. Havlík, *MMFH* 3 (Brno: Universita J.E. Purkyně, 1967), 285–291.

history, and occupying a rather large area.[317] This is why one cannot regard Constantine's testimony as evidence of the existence of a large and centrally administered realm. This observation does not contradict the idea of an amorphous formation of power, with which previous historiography implicitly reckoned, but it shows certain cultural limits in the perception of "other", which the learned Byzantine Emperor was not able to cross.

While some of the abovementioned sources concern the Přemyslid "realm" in particular, the *Dagomę iudex* makes it possible to distinguish the boundaries of the political claims by Duke Mieszko I (†992) with his wife Oda and with their sons Mieszko and Lambert, who gave their lands *Schinesgne* to the pope.[318] Although Mieszko's name is hardly to be recognized in surviving text, the names of his wife and sons allow us to identify him with the *Dagomę iudex*—in original text, probably *ego Mieszko dux*. This summary was drawn up at the end of the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073–1085) at the hand of Cardinal Deusdedit,[319] who was charged with selecting important documents from earlier Papal regesta and drawing up a list of them. There is no question over the authenticity of this document. The original privilege[320] was issued in approximately 985–992.[321] At

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[317] Both ideas are not mutually exclusive. Few modern historians would regard Boleslav I's realm as ethnically White-Croatian; the common concept is that Constantine's viewpoint resulted from an attempt to give a name to the conglomerate created by Boleslav for the sake of easy identification, see Třeštík, *Mýty kmene Čechů*, 82–88.

[318] Ed. Kürbis in: ibid., Dagome iudex, 395: "Item in alio tomo sub Johanne XV papa Dagomę iudex et Ote senatrix et filii eorum Misica et Lambertus leguntur beato Petro contulisse unam civitatem in integro que vocatur Schinesgne cum omnibus suis pertinentiis. . . ." For the reconstruction of its text, see also HenrykŁowmiański, "Imie chrzestne Mieszka I.," In Henryk Łowmiański, *Studia nad dziejami Slowiańszczyzny, Polski i Rusi w wiekach średnich* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1986), 286–356, at 309, and also Brygida Kürbisówna, "Dagome iudex: Studium krytyczne," in *Początki państwa polskiego: Księga tysiąclecia*, vol. 1, Organizacja polityczna, edited by Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Gerard Labuda, and Henryk Łowmiański (Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962), 363–424, at 397. It would also be interesting to examine the perception of space in this document, but it is not quite clear who dictated the text and to whom. Thus, it would be impossible to ascertain the concrete person whose views would be analysed.

[319] *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, vol. 1, edited by Victor Wolf von Glanvell (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1905), 3.199, 359.

[320] Walter Leitsch, "Deusdit und die 'Urkunde Dagome iudex'," in *Studien zur älteren Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 2, edited by Heinrich F. Schmid (Graz: Böhlau, 1959), 166–185 proves that the model for the record in Deusdedit's collection was an individual charter—as in the case of eighteen other similar items.

[321] The date of its issuance is determined by the beginning of John XV's Pontificate on the one hand and Mieszko's death on the other. The majority of historians consider the period from 990 to 992, that is, the time after Mieszko's expansion. But e.g. Grabski claims that the envoys had already been staying in Rome for a longer time and thus were not

the time of the insertion of its summary into the Papal register, it was not clear any more who had been the issuer.[322] Even present-day scholars have not yet decided whether the privilege originates from Rome or the area of the present-day Poland, what role was played by the Papal chancery and how the interests of the Piast Court influenced its contents. It is only a certain vagueness in the description of boundaries that makes one think of a genesis of the summary based on second-hand evidence.[323] But this "lack of focus" may also be caused by the function of the document. These facts do not make it possible to analyze this source from the perspective of its author.

The *Dagomę iudex* first determines the object of donation, the *civitas Shinesgne* with all the appurtenances.[324] The description of the boundaries begins in the North, at the Baltic Sea,[325] and continues along the coast to the borders between Prussia and Russia and then further up to *Craccoua*. From this point, the boundaries lead to the Oder and to a land called *Alemure*, further along the Oder (or more broadly, through the Oderland) to the region of the Milceni, from where they go back to the *Schinesgne*.

Already an identification of the *Schinesgne* certainly belongs among the problematic issues. While the majority of current researchers identify it

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informed concerning the acquisitions in Silesia, see Grabski, *Bolesław Chrobry*, 47–55. For Sułowski, in contrast, the fact that Cracow was situated outside the described area proves that the summary originates from a time before the year 990, when, according to him, Mieszko took the castle, see Zygmunt Sułowski, "Geografia dokumentu 'Dagome iudex'," *SlA* 4 (1953): 232–251.

[322] *Die Kannonensammlung*, vol. 1, 3.199, 359: "...nescio cuius gentis homines, puto autem Sardos fuisse, quoniam ipsi a III iudicibus reguntur..." However, in a marginal remark, the manuscripts proceeding from the insertion of 1140–1143 identify the demarcated area with Poland.

[323] Cf. the perspectives of Constantine, Pseudo-Orosius, etc., presented above pp. 73–76.

[324] Ed. Kürbis in: ibid., *Dagome iudex*, 395: "Item in alio tomo sub Johanne XV papa Dagomę iudex et Ote senatrix et filii eorum Misica et Lambertus leguntur beato Petro contulisse unam civitatem in integro que vocatur Schinesgne cum omnibus suis pertinentiis infra hos affines sicuti incipit a primo latere longum mare fine Pruzze usque in locum qui dicitur Russe et fine Russe extendente usque in Craccoa et ab ipsa Craccoa usque ad flumen Oddere recte in locum qui dicitur Alemure et ab ipsa Alemure usque in terram Milze et a fine Milze recte intra Oddera et exinde ducente iuxta flumen Oddera usque in predictam civitatem Schinsgne."; Andrzej Pleszczyński, "Początek rządów Bolesława Chrobriego," in *Viae historicae: Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyskiewiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia 152 (Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2001), 217–232, at 222–223 ponders the term "appurtenances", but this expression is commonly used in charters. The "appurtenances" simply mean "all inclusive"—persons, rights, waters, woods, etc.

[325] *Longum mare* is interpreted as the Baltic Sea, "alongside the sea" or Pomerania, see Sułowski, "Geografia dokumentu," 234. For the identification with the Baltic Sea, see Henryk Łowmiański, "Bolesław Chrobry w Krakowie," 357–366, at 362.

with present-day Gniezno, or with the surrounding region, previous historiography oscillated between Gniezno and Szczecin (Stettin).[326] However, in Mieszko's time Gniezno was the central hillfort of his domain and because of that it is more probable that his realm was named after this castle than after Szczecin.[327] This explanation is, however, problematic.[328] If we accept that in the *Dagomę iudex* the whole of Mieszko's realm is to be identified with *civitas Schinesgne*, we can hardly explain the last few words at the end of this text, *infra hos affines ... usque in predictam civitatem Schinsgne*, that apparently points to its (*civitas Schinesgne*) function as a boundary of Mieszko's domain. It means that Schinesgne was only the central region of Mieszko's realm and the rest we can identify with its *pertinentiis*. It is not coincidence that these lands in central Poland were densely scattered with the castles built in ca. 950.[329]

Another subject of dispute is the question as to whether or not *Craccoua* was situated beyond the defined area. It's pointed out that all the localities used in the summary to demarcate the boundaries lay outside the described region and that Cracow was hardly an exception.[330] Although

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[326] Sułowski, "Geografia dokumentu," 232–251 also points out that it is uncertain which castle was regarded as the most important in Poland at the end of the tenth century; so, even in the case of the donation of Stettin, it would be possible to connect it with the granting of the whole country (246–250). He emphasises that the position of Stettin seems rather to correspond with the second reference to the *Schinesgne* at the end of the summary. Sułowski proceeds from a dubious statement that there is no contemporary evidence of the Roman or Central European environment which would relate the term *civitas* to a community, cf. ibid., 244–246. On ambiguous counterevidence, see *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 2, 18: "Quo accepto civitatem statuunt, nomenque inponunt Pragam". It is not clear if the castle itself with its suburb, as most translators suppose, or rather the whole Prague region is concerned here.

[327] Ed. Kürbis in: ibid., *Dagome iudex*, 395: "... contulisse unam civitatem in integro que vocatur Schinesgne cum omnibus suis pertinentiis". See also Łowmiański, "Imie chrzestne Mieszka I.," 316–318. For the linguistic justification, see Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, "Jeszcze raz Gniezno czy Szczecin w regeście dokumentu Dagome iudex," *Slavia Occidentalis* 20, no. 2 (1960): 95–99. The author also points out the possibility of a mistake made by an Italian notary. See also Gerard Labuda, "Schinesghe: Gniezno czy Szczecin," *Przegląd Zachodni* 7 (1951): 586–592. (Unfortunately, I did not have this paper at my disposal.)

[328] Karol Buczek, "Zagadnienie wierygodności regestu Dagome iudex," StŹr 10 (1965): 117–129, however, proposes that, in the case of a donation of the whole country, there would have been no need to describe its borders. At the same time, however, he warns against blind trust in the text of summary which might differ a great deal from the original charter, which Cardinal Deusdedit had allegedly altered, for he had seen in it the donation of a town together with a smaller district, rather than the granting of a whole country. Buczek's main argument ist the term *Russe* interpreted in *Dagome* as *locus*.

[329] Łowmiański, "Imie chrzestne Mieszka I.," 318–319.

[330] Ed. Kürbis in ibid., *Dagome iudex*, 395: "... hos affines sicuti incipit a primo latere longum mare fine Pruzze usque in locum qui dicitur Russe et fine Russe extendente usque

this argumentation in favour of the hypothesis that Cracow was situated outside the donated area appears convincing, the summary itself cannot be used as a source which would make it possible to decide whether or not Cracow was part of Mieszko's domain in 985–992.

The localization of *Alemure* is difficult, owing to the fact that this term bears no resemblance to any current toponym. Since, in the summary, *locus* does not necessarily mean "site", as follows from the expression *locum qui dicitur Russe*, a list of potential toponyms must include names of larger areas as well. The essential clue is the logic of the description itself, which suggests seeking this area to the west of Cracow, near the Oder. As far as linguistic argumentation is concerned, it can hardly be taken into consideration, for only minimal sources are available, none of which come from Poland. It is for historical-geographical reasons that we can identify the abovementioned location either with Moravia,[331] Olomouc, or, as the case may be, the Olomouc region.[332]

The issue of the localization of Cracow (and also of *Schinesgne*) is closely connected with a more important question as to what and why Mieszko I (†992) donated through the *Dagomę iudex*. According to the prevailing concept, proposed by Labuda, by means of this donation the Piast duke made efforts to secure the boundaries of the countries which were supposed to come under the rule of Mieszko's (at that time under-age) sons from his second marriage to Oda.[333] Labuda argues that Boleslav is not

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in Craccoa et ab ipsa Craccoa usque ad flumen Oddererecte in locum qui dicitur Alemure et ab ipsa Alemure usque in terram Milzeet a fine Milze recte intra Oddera et exinde ducente iuxta flumen Oddera usque in predictam civitatem Schinsgne". Cf. Łowmiański, "Imie chrzestne Mieszka I.," 318–319. Affirmatively Sułowski, "Geografia dokumentu," 239, and also Gerard Labuda, "Prawne i polityczne aspekty dokumentu Dagome iudex," in Gerard Labuda, *Studia*, vol. 2, 240–263, at 255. Buczek, "Zagadnienie wiarygodności," 129–134 treats the question in a similar way as Łowmiański, but at the same time, he attributes Cracow to the Piasts, namely to Boleslav I the Brave (992–1025), Mieszko's eldest son. Buczek bases his idea on an account of the Russian Primary Chronicle on the campaign of the Kievan prince Vladimir I (†1015) against the Lendians aimed at taking control of Red Ruthenia and on the consideration that the Dagomę iudex does not necessarily show the whole extent of the Piast domain.

[331] Łowmiański, "Imie chrzestne Mieszka I.," 319.

[332] Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów*, 423–424. Above all, the author emphasises the existence of Olomouc in the tenth century. But, in fact, she only proves that the *Alemure* may be identified with the Olomouc region and not that this identification is the only possible solution.

[333] Labuda, "Prawne i polityczne aspekty," 261, 263; cf. Buczek, "Zagadnienie wiarygodności," 129–134. On the importance of this act in a broader context, see Charlotte Warnke, "Ursachen und Voraussetzungen der Schenkung Polens an den heiligen Petrus," in *Europa Slavica, Europa Orientalis*: *Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Klaus-Detlev Grothusen and Klaus Zernack (Berlin: Duncker and Humbolt, 1980),

mentioned in the donation and that one passage of *Thietmar's Chronicle* describes how Boleslav the Brave (992–1025) reunified the Piast domain after his father's death.[334] But it is difficult to discover what Boleslav's position was before 992; *Thietmar's Chronicle* notes only a series of Boleslav's marriages, which prove that Boleslav reached maturity around 985.[335] So his supposed rule over Cracow should be regarded as a hypothesis, formulated in an effort to explain why the Cracow region was not included in the summary and to justify an early presence of the Piast power in this area. Nevertheless, this type of donation was usually related to the whole area of a domain.[336] Therefore, the concept, which does not take into account Mieszko's (either formal or direct) rule over Cracow in the given period, seems more likely. What is clear is that the text makes it possible to suppose that the author of the summary (in common with Ibrahim ben Jacob) imagined *Craccoua* as a given entity.

Labuda bases his reflections on the summary of his concept of the development of relations between the Piasts and Přemyslids in the 970s and 980s.[337] Other authors also endeavour to put individual accounts into a relatively systematic, consistent and meaningful narration by means of analyses of available sources. Their conclusions depend on other, yet likewise dubious and laconic, references without any mention about their points of departure.

Generally, some explanations are acceptable—for instance reasoning concerning Cracow. However, independent interpretations of the *Dagomę iudex*, as proposed despite all reservations by individual researchers, do not determine the selection of a concept of Piast history into which reasoning can be incorporated. On the contrary, the issue of authenticity, significance, and interpretation of the *Dagomę iudex* are interconnected with the question of the form and development of the Piast domain. Thus, all solutions mentioned above are more constructions rather than re-

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138–149. The alleged Canon-Law dimension of this act will not be examined here, since the donation of a land to St Peter, Kingdom and Archbishopric is not the same, even though closely related. The text of the summary is also clearcut: Mieszko, together with his wife and children, bestow their land to the Pope. Nothing more, nothing less.

[334] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.58 (37), 196–198: "... prefatus dux (Mieszko) iam senex et febricitans ab exilio hoc ad patriam transit, relinquens regnum suimet plurimis dividendum, quod postea filius eiusdem Bolizlavus, noverca et fratribus expulsa, excecatisque familiaribus suis Odilieno atque Pribuvoio, vulpina caliditate contraxit in unum".

[335] *Thietmari Chronicon* 4.58 (37), 198. However, it is not possible to date the events mentioned in the chronicle with precision.

[336] Johannes Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz für Laienfürsten: Die politische Geschichte des päpstlichen Schutzprivilegs für Laien, 11.–13. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1980).

[337] Labuda, "Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego," 341–351.

constructions of the early medieval situation. A simple reflection alone on the chronology of the Piast expansion reveals these links: it is clear that the summary dates back to 985–992. The narrowing down of this period to 990–992 is based on efforts to use this source for rejecting the considerations of Cracow as the *regnum ablatum*, as mentioned in *Thietmar's Chronicle*. The argument that only part of the Piast domain was donated to St. Peter—even though relatively convincing arguments were put forward against the idea of the inclusion of Cracow in the donation—fits the same mould.

It might seem that a description of boundaries which is included in a charter of Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106) to Jaromír-Gebhard, Bishop of Prague (1068–1090), can provide a corrective to the analysed summary. Apart from the troublesome relationship between the distinction of boundaries of the bishopric and the Duchy, it must be mentioned in advance that this document is even more problematic than the *Dagomę iudex*, since the charter as such is regarded as a forgery by some scholars, owing to the form in which it has survived.[338] A copy from the early twelfth century, deposited in the archives in Munich today, is the earliest one. The *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague*, written in 1119–1125, also contains the text of this charter.[339] The most recent medieval copy dates back to the fourteenth century and is preserved in Würzburg.[340]

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[338] Systematically on the manuscripts in *Diplomata Heinrici IV.*, vol. 2, edited by Dietrich von Gladiß and Alfred Gawlik, *MGH DD* 6 (Weimar 1959; Hannover 1978), no. 390, 515. See also Johann Loserth, "Der Umfang des böhmischen Reiches unter Boleslaw II.: Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der älteren böhmischen Geschichte," *MIÖG* 2 (1881): 15–28; Adolf Bachmann, "Beiträge zu Böhmens Geschichte und Geschichtsquellen," pt. 2, *MIÖG* 21 (1900): 209–234; Josef Kalousek, "O listině císaře Jindřicha z roku 1086, kterouž Morava byla opět přivtělena k diecesi Pražské," *ČČH* 8 (1902): 257–269; Otto Bauer, "O nejstarší listině v archivu České koruny: Poznámky k t zv. zakládací listině biskupství pražského," in *Miscellanea historico-iuridica: Sborník prací o dějinách práva, napsaný k oslavě šedesátin JUDra. Jana Kaprasa*, edited by Václav Vaněček (Prague: V. Vaněček, 1940), 5–15; Ludo Hauptmann, "Das Regensburger Privileg von 1086 für das Bistum Prag," *MIÖG* 62 (1954): 146–154; Václav Chaloupecký, "Česká hranice východní koncem XI. století: Několik poznámek k výkladu t. ř. zakládací listiny biskupství pražského a její konfirmace z r. 1086," *ČČH* 32, (1926): 335–342; Oskar E. Kossmann, "Die Anfänge des Zehntrechts in Polen," *ZRG* KA 60 (1969): 207–237, at 231–232, and n. 76. For more recent works, see below in the text. The numerous studies on the beginnings of the bishopric of Prague also contain the relevant information, see n. 655.

[339] The hypothesis of the secondary insertion of the charter by a copyist is out of the question, since the text has been preserved in all the manuscripts of the chronicle and the earliest manuscript already dates from the late twelfth century.

[340] The mutual independence of these copies is proved in Helmut Beumann and Walter Schlesinger, "Urkundenstudien zur deutschen Ostpolitik unter Otto III," *AfD* 1 (1955): 132–256.

The last editor of the privilege in question, Dietrich von Gladiss, found in some passages features of stylization by a notary, which are marked with the sigla "Herrimann A".[341] At the same moment he regards the document, in the form in which it has survived, as a forgery, although perhaps based on the original charter.[342] In contrast, in their explanation of the stylistic diversity, the advocates of its authenticity suggest the participation of a co-dictator and claim that the style of Herrimann A was mixed with passages from the supposed model that the document followed.[343] Thus, stylistic arguments alone cannot solve the question of the charter's authenticity.

A detailed analysis of the extant manuscripts by Helmut Beumann and Walter Schlesinger provide valuable clues concerning this issue:[344] these two researchers succeed in proving the independence of Cosmas's text and the Munich manuscript, as well as ascertaining the origin of the individual copies and their models. They also discover that the Munich Text B, likewise its thirteenth–fourteenth century late copy, marked as D, had originally been deposited in the archives of the archbishops of Mainz.[345] They regard the allegedly original copy for archbishop Wezilo as the model for the two texts.[346] Cosmas's text, in their opinion, is based on the copy for the bishopric of Prague.[347] The existence of the independent early-twelfth-century copies of the charter may serve as an argument in favour of its authenticity.

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[341] *Diplomata Heinrici IV*, vol. 2, no. 390, 516–517.

[342] Ibid., 516.

[343] Unfortunately, an attempt to discover stylistic borrowings in the *arenga* has not brought relevant results, see Friedrich Hausmann and Alfred Gawlik, *Arengenverzeichnis zu den Königs- und Kaiserurkunden von den Merowingern bis Heinrich VI., MGH* Hilfsmittel 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1987). And with regard to the extant manuscripts, the echoes of the stylization of the Hohenstaufen chancery are elusive.

[344] Beumann and Schlesinger, "Urkundenstudien zur deutschen Ostpolitik," 236–250.

[345] Ibid., 242–243.

[346] Ibid., 242–243.

[347] Ibid., 242–243. For the comments on Beumann and Schlesinger's conclusions, see Barbara Krzemieńska and Dušan Třeštík, "O dokumencie praskim z roku 1086," *StŽr* 5 (1960): 79–88. Beumann and Schlesinger assert that, in the form of the aforementioned text D, they have discovered the stylization of the so-called dictator of Mainz, already refered to in Bernhard Schmeidler, *Kaiser Heinrich IV. und seine Helfer im Investiturstreit* (Leipzig: Dyk, 1927), esp. 272–274. (However, Schmeidler's views are rejected and a sober analysis of the issue is presented in Carl Erdmann and Dietrich von Gladiß, "Gottschalk von Aachen im Dienste Heinrichs IV.," *DA* 3 (1939): 115–174.) Nevertheless, they regard the dictator of Mainz as an Archbishop's rather than ruler's notary. Moreover, they claim that Cosmas's text is a copy of a copy, since, in their opinion, the original was taken to Rome by Jaromír.

This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that the charter belongs among the sequential line of diplomas written and stylised by Herrimann A. Since Jaromír was only the formal Head of the imperial chancery, one cannot count on his familiarity with the styles of those who had dictated its works.[348] It is also unlikely that Jaromír would accidentally have imitated the style of a notary who worked in the chancery for short period only.[349] Moreover, forgeries which originated soon after their alleged issuance were easily detectable; but there is no evidence that the authenticity of Henry IV's charter was ever questioned in the Middle Ages, even by the bishops of Olomouc. This circumstance, too, supports its authenticity.

In determining the possible date of the genesis of the model for this charter, one can rely solely on a single statement in the charter itself: it is claimed in the *narratio* that "the bishopric of Prague was from the beginning established as the only one and indivisible for the whole of the Duchy of Bohemia and Moravia and so confirmed by Emperor Otto I and Pope Benedict".[350] This statement, however, does not exclude the option that Jaromír submitted a forgery or at least an altered charter. In terms of historical circumstances, the supporters of this hypothesis argue that if Jaromír had had a charter defining the only bishopric for Bohemia and Moravia, he would probably have utilized it in his dispute with the Bishop of Olomouc.[351] This objection, however, is valid in part only. In principle, there are no doubts about Jaromír's long-lasting efforts to reincorporate Moravia into the diocese of Prague.[352] Nevertheless, it can be taken for granted that the renewal of the bishopric in Moravia was accomplished in agreement with the Canon Law because of the consent

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[348] David Kalhous, "Jaromír-Gebhard, pražský biskup a říšský kancléř, 1038–1090: Několik poznámek k jeho životu," *MHB* 9 (2003): 27–45.

[349] On the evidence of Herrimann A's work, see *Diplomata Heinrici IV*, vol. 3, 699.

[350] *Diplomata Heinrici IV.*, vol. 2, no. 390, 516: "... quod Pragensis episcopatus, qui ab inicio per totum Boemie ac Moravie ducatum unus et integer constitutus est et tam a papa Benedicto quam a primo Ottone imperatore sic confirmatus est ..." For the idea that this concerns Great Moravian boundaries, see Karol Potkański, "Kraków przed Piastami," in Karol Potkański, Lechici, Polanie, Polska: Wybór pism (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), 170–413, for the rejection of this concept, see Gerard Labuda, "O obrządku słowiańskim w Polsce południowej, czyli Kraków biskupi przed rokiem 1000," in Gerard Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 2 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1988), 83–167.

[351] Bachmann, "Beiträge zu Böhmens Geschichte," pt. 2, 209–220; Berthold Bretholz, "Mähren und das Reich Herzog Boleslavs II. von Böhmen," *AfÖG* 82 (1895): 137–180, at 166–169.

[352] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.21, 112–113.

of Jaromír's predecessor,[353] which was decisive in the case of the division of the diocese.[354] In pointing out Jaromír's efforts to achieve agreement, which would have made it possible to annul bishop Severus's consent,[355] Cosmas does not need to prove the non-existence of the tenth-century charter. His words rather refer to the indisputable legal position of Bishop John I, especially in the situation when the Bishop was supported by the ruling duke. That is why Jaromír endeavoured to reach agreement and did not attempt to defend his claims by means of the old privilege.[356] Considering the existence of an ancient privilege, one must inevitably regard objections to the form and content as more important.

The anonymous notary probably proceeded according to Cardinal directions.[357] He began his listing[358] in the West with Tuhošť[359] and continued alongside the north-western boundaries to Litoměřice[360] and Děčín.[361] In the North, he demarcated the borders of the Diocese with the Pšov region, i.e. the area around Stará Boleslav,[362] the territory of the two

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[353] Ibid., 2.21, 112–113.

[354] Ernst-Dieter Hehl, "Widerspenstige Bischof: Bischöfliche Zustimmung und bischöflicher Protest in der ottonischen Reichskirche," in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, edited by Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert VuF 46 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), 295–344. Jaromír never questioned the existence of the bishopric of Olomouc before the Papal Curia.

[355] These efforts are mentioned solely in *Cosmae Chronica* 2.27, 120–121. The text of the charter in question reflects the difference between the views of the Bishop and the Chapter. Whereas the text of Mainz contains the information that the Moravian bishopric was established without the consent of Jaromír's predecessors, see *Diplomata Heinrici IV.*, vol. 2 no. 390, 516, Cosmas states the opposite.

[356] Similarly already Kalousek, "O listině císaře Jindřicha," 262–267.

[357] Labuda, "O obrządku słowiańskim," 134–137.

[358] *Diplomata Heinrici IV.*, vol. 2, no. 390, 516–517: "Termini autem eius occidentem versus hii sunt: Tugust, quę tendit ad medium fluminis Chub, Zedlza et Lusanę et Dazana, Liutomerici, Lemuzi usque ad mediam silvam, qua Boemia limitantur. Deinde ad aquilonem hi sunt termini: Pssouane, Chrouati et altera Chrowati, Zlasane, Trebouane, Pobarane, Dedosize usque ad mediam silvam, qua Milcianorum occurunt termini. Inde ad orientem hos fluvios habet terminos: Bug scilicet et Ztir cum Gracouua civitate provintiaque cui Uuag nomen est cum omnibus regionibus ad predictam urbem pertinentibus, quę Gracouua est. Inde Ungrorum limitibus additis usque ad montes quibus nomen est Triti dilatata procedit. Deinde in ea parte, quę meridiem respicit, addita regione Morowia usque ad flumen cui nomen est Wag et ad medias silvas cui nomen est Mŏre et eiusdem montis eadem parrochia tendit, qua Bauuaria limitatur".

[359] On Tuhošť's identification, see Rudolf Turek, "Listina Jindřicha IV. z 29. dubna 1086 (DH IV. 390) a její teritoria," *Slavia Antiqua* 22 (1975): 103–104.

[360] Ibid., 105–106.

[361] Ibid., 107.

[362] Ibid., 108. The further sources mention that at their time the centre of the region was Mělník, see *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 3, 24: "Habuit eciam et uxorem nomine Liudmilam,

Croat peoples, the lands of the Silesians settled around the present-day Wroclaw,[363] the Trebovans occupying the area along the Kaczawa River,[364] the Poborans around the Biebrza and Kwisa Rivers,[365] the Dedosici in the Central Oder region.[366] In the East, the charter delimitated the Diocese with the Bug and Styr Rivers, with the exception that it included Cracow with its surroundings.[367] In the South, the area is demarcated by the *Triti*[368] and the land of Moravia southwards, bordering on Bavaria near Mailberg, or rather in the uplands of the Waldviertel,[369] and eastwards along the Váh River and a province of the same name.

First, we do not need to accept any attempt to clear up the alleged discrepancy by means of a conjecture *ad mediam* (*silvam*) between the words *et* and *eiusdem montis*,[370] since the last sentence can be translated without difficulty as follows: "And to the South the bishopric which borders with Bavaria extends to the river called Vah and to the middle of the

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filiam Slaviboris comitis ex provincia Sclavorum, que Psou antiquitus nuncupabatur, nunc a modernis ex civitate noviter constructa Mielnik vocitatur."

[363] Turek, "Listina Jindřicha IV," 109.

[364] Ibid., 109.

[365] Ibid., 109. Lech A. Tyszkiewicz, "Bobrzanie czy Obrzanie," in *Memoriae amici et magistri: Studia historiczne poświęcone pamięci Prof. Wacława Korty, 1919–1999* (Wrocław: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2001), 33–36. The author claims that the Bobrans were part of the broader union of the tribe of the Dedosici, likewise the Trebovans were part of the Silesians.

[366] Turek, "Listina Jindřicha IV," 109.

[367] Most persuasively on this difficult passage, see Gerard Labuda, "Granice poludniowe Polski w X i XI wieku, czyli castrum Trecen w dokumentach biskupstwa wrocławskiego (1135, 1245)," in Gerard Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 2, (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1988), 212–231, at 231. The author proposed the following reading: "Inde ad orientem—Bug scilicet et Styr, cum Gracouua civitate, cum omnibus regionibus ad predictam urbem pertinentibus . . . Inde Ungrorum limitibus additis, usque ad montes, quibus nomen est Triti, dilatata procedit. Deinde in ea parte, que meridiem respicit, cum prouintia, cui Uag nomen est, addita regione Morawia, usque ad flumen, cui nomen est Wag". For more on the question of the eastern borders, see below in the text, pp. 94–96.

[368] This term is commonly identified with the Tatra Mountains.

[369] Not Mailberg proper, but the surrounding uplands are concerned here, since the charter reads: ". . . ad medias silvas cui nomen est Mŏre et eiusdem montis eadem parrochia tendit, qua Bauuaria limitatur".

[370] Václav Hrubý, "K listině biskupství pražského z r. 1086," *ČNM* 96 (1922): 85–154, at 74–75. On the localization of the boundary, cf. at least LubomírHavlík, *Staří Slované v rakouském Podunají v době od 6. do 12. století*, Rozpravy ČSAV: řada společenskovědní 73, no. 9 (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1963), 72–85, and the supplement with the maps Karl Brunner, *Herzogtümer und Marken: Vom Ungarnsturm bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, Österreichische Geschichte, 907–1156 (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1994), 58–60, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bild:Bayern_im_10.Jh.png.

forest whose name is Mŏre, and belongs to the same mountain range."[371] From the viewpoint of Latin syntax, the translation of the text does not pose a serious problem, which implicitly opposes the considerations on its secondary compilation from two individual manuscripts. The idea of a single redaction is also backed by repeatedly employed formulations and the uniform structure: the anonymous notary—likewise his counterparts in the case of the charters for Brandenburg and Havelberg—proceeded according to Cardinal directions and listed, sometimes repeatedly, relevant points of reference. It is not possible to decide whether the transition to the northern and eastern boundaries was suitable or unsuitable,[372] since there is no evidence of tenth-century familiarity with the *civitas Gracouua* borders and even of the very existence of these borders in an established form. The testimony of the *Dagomę iudex*, whose author defines just one of the boundaries of the *civitas Shinesgne* by referring to *Craccoa* only, shows that he, too, considered the area an individual entity. This is also confirmed by the analysis of description made by Ibrahim ibn Jakub. No further sources are available. If the privilege for the bishopric of Prague had not survived, the present knowledge of the volatile circumstances, as recorded in the description concerning the area of Bohemia and Silesia, would not be as precise as it is now.

Second, Josef Pekař once pointed out that the Moravian borders had only shifted towards Mailberg under Margrave Adalbero (1018–1055) and thus the description must have been made at a later point.[373] Pekař, however, does not lay the main emphasis on a detailed analysis of the localization of the Moravian-Austrian border. He concentrates on the fact that the eastern borders of the March of Austria reached Moravia as late as the 1040s.[374] Václav Novotný argues against Pekař's view by means of Henry II

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[371] *Diplomata Heinrici IV.*, vol. 2, no. 390, 516–517: "Deinde in ea parte, quę meridiem respicit, addita regione Morowia usque ad flumen cui nomen est Wag et ad medias silvas cui nomen est Mŏre et eiusdem montis eadem parrochia tendit, qua Bauuaria limitatur". I thank Dr Anna Smékalová for discussing possible translations of this text.

[372] Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów*, 91.

[373] Josef Pekař, "K sporu o zakládací listinu biskupství Pražského," *ČČH* 10 (1904): 45–58, at 54–58; see also Turek, "Listina Jindřicha IV," 99–100, 102.

[374] Pekař, "K sporu," 56–57. For the hypothesis of the identification of the *More* with the Sudetes based on the idea of the strong Slavnikid domain, rejected as Cosmas's fiction by Jiří Sláma, "Slavníkovci: Významná či okrajová záležitost českých dějin 10. století?" *AR* 47 (1995): 182–224, see Václav Richter, "O středověké architektuře na Moravě: Od nejstarších dob do počátku 11. věku," *ČMM* 65 (1943): 1–84, at 68–70 who also regards the charter as proof of the independence of Moravia in the tenth century.

the Wrangler's charter of 987, where the borders with Moravia are local-
ized beyond the Danube.[375]

Third, the objections against dissimilarities in the nature of the descrip-
tions of various regions must be handled with certain reservations.[376] In
general, it is indeed not possible to overlook the fact that the anonymous
author defined the western and northern borders in detail by means of
listing individual small "tribes",[377] whereas the eastern and southern bor-
ders are demarcated rather by geographical formations and larger enti-
ties.[378] However, the concrete circumstances should also be considered:
one should realize that the charter in question is the only source of rela-
tively detailed information on the boundaries in this area. Other relevant
sources are cursory or date back to the ninth century. So it cannot be
decided whether or not those supposed "tribes" and other political forma-
tions, by means of which the eastern borders could be described, really
existed in the eastern and southern regions. Also the purpose can account
for the differences in the descriptions. In defining the borders of often
uninhabited lands,[379] perfect accuracy was unnecessary, as opposed to the
boundaries of specific possessions or areas bordering on other densely

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[375] Novotný, *Od nejstarších dob*, 569 localises the borders with Moravia as far as *. . . ultra Danubium . . .*, with reference to *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 35, 42.

[376] Most recently, see Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów,* 91–92.

[377] The individual terms will not be examined here, since the issue in question is mar-
ginal within the context of this book. Recently on the situation in Bohemia, see Dušan
Třeštík, "České kmeny: Historie a skutečnost jedné koncepce," *SMP* 1 (1988): 129–143. For
the brief overview regarding Silesia, see Przemysław Urbanczyk, "Politická příslušnost Slez-
ska v desátém století v nejnovější polské historiografii," in *Dějiny ve věku nejistot: Sborník
k příležitosti 70. narozenin Dušana Třeštíka*, edited by Jan Klápště, Eva Plešková, and Josef
Žemlička (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2003), 292–304.

[378] On the possible reasons of the variability of the methods of boundary descriptions,
on the basis of the analysis of the bull for the Archbishopric of Gniezno of 1136 and the
bull for the bishopric of Wrocław of 1155, see Kossmann, "Die Anfänge des Zehntrechts in
Polen," 231–232. These bulls have ben published in *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris
Silesiae*, vol. 1, *971–1204*, edited by Karol Maleczyński (Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo
Miłośników Historii, 1956), no. 35, 85–102, and *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, vol. 1,
edited by Ignacy Zakrzewski (Poznań: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1877), no. 7, 10–14.

[379] For the comparative material in the form of the edition of an inscription containing
the description of the Bulgarian borders around 800, see *Die Protobulgarischen Inschriften*,
edited by Veselin Beshevliev (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1963), no. 41, 190: "It should extend
from Debelt to the castle of Potam and between both Abroleba and to many fords and
between Balzena and Agathonike towards Leuke and Konstantia and to Makri-Libada and
to Hebros and the Haimos Mountains. So far the definition of the borders," In this case,
too, the specification of a border area rather than a border line is concerned, see Squatriti,
"Moving Earth and Making Difference," 81–86.

inhabited regions, to which, as the case might have been, political claims were laid.[380]

It is also uncertain to what measure the allegedly illogically interconnected places in the description of the northern boundaries reflect the existence of two earlier descriptions, as the abovementioned Polish historian asserts:[381] in comparing the information of the charter for Břevnov with the data from Henry IV's charter, she proceeds from those passages which concern Bohemia proper and Silesia and which, in her opinion, were also contained in the original charter for the bishopric of Prague. Thus, the comparison with the Břevnov charter cannot support her hypothesis of two individual charters for the bishopric of Prague (Bohemia and present-day Silesia) and of Moravia (Moravia, the Cracow region, present-day Western and Central Slovakia). Still, it is suitable at this point to focus on the geographical aspects of the text and the logic of its interpretation to a larger extent.

Besides disproving the objections to the contents, one can also add a positive clue concerning the dating of the description, namely the term *parrochia*, which ceased to be used in the sense of a bishopric in the course of the tenth century.[382] Also the fact that the names of the "ethnics" mentioned here do not appear in sources of the second half of the eleventh century, seems to lead to the conclusion that Herrimann A proceeded from a genuine text.

Nonetheless, did such privileges exist in the tenth century which would have defined the boundaries of a bishopric? Only three documents provide comparative material; two of them evoke considerable controversy,[383]

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[380] See e.g. *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 375, 348: ". . . contuli villam Brevnowa nomine ante ipsum monasterium cum omni familia et terra sufficienti ac montem incultum ad meridiem tendentem â bivio quodam, in quo preciduntur molares, Schirnovice dicto, per directum usque ad Lesce et â Lesce usque ad saxum, qui est positus in via, per quam venitur ad civitatem Pragam". On this type of source, see most recently Helmut Maurer, "Naturwahrnehmung und Grenzbeschreibung im hohen Mittelalter: Beobachtungen vornehmlich an italienischen Quellen," in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht*, vol. 1, edited by Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz (Stuttgart: Hiersemann: 1998), 239–253.

[381] Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów*, 91–92.

[382] Karl Lechner, "Die salzburger-passauische Diözesanregulierung in der buckligen Welt im Rahmen der Landschaftsgeschichte des 9. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 109 (1969): 41–63, at 48–60.

[383] There exist the alleged descriptions of bishopric's borders from the Carolingian period. In fact, however, these are twelfth-century forgeries. Besides, numerous demarcations of the borders of donated possessions can be referred to in this regard. For further literature, see above n. 381, p. 88.

namely charters in which Otto I and Otto III define the boundaries of the Havelberg,[384] Brandenburg[385] and Meissen[386] bishoprics, issued on 9th May 946, 1st October 948 and 6th December 996, respectively. The logic of the description, according to the cardinal points in these privileges, corresponds with that of the charter analysed here. However, whereas in the two Ottonian charters, the chief points of reference are rivers and seas,[387] the charter under discussion is different in this regard. The description of the western and northern boundaries in particular, containing a list of ethnics under Episcopal jurisdiction, is rather similar to those passages of the Ottonian charters (and also Papal privileges to Gniezno and

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[384] *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, no. 76, 155–156: "Terminum vero eidem parochiae constituimus ab ortu fluvii qui dicitur Pene ad orientem, ubi idem fluvius intrat mare, ab ortu vero fluminis quod dicitur Eldia ad occidentem, ubi idem fluvius influit in Albiam, ab aquilone mare Rugianorum, a meridie Strumma fluvius et finis praedictarum provinciarum". Generally, the specialists interested in this charter agree that this document is a twelfth-century forgery based on genuine charters. Nevertheless, their opinions differ in terms of the mutual relationship between the quoted charter and its confirmations by Conrad III and Frederic I, see Friedrich Curschmann, "Die Stiftungsurkunde des Bistums Havelberg," *NA* 28 (1903): 393–434; Zygmunt Sułowski, "Najstarsze dokumenty biskupstwa hobolińskiego," *RoczH* 19 (1950, published in 1952): 1–67; Walther Schlesinger, "Bemerkungen zu der sgn. Stiftungsurkunde des Bistums Havelberg von 946 Mai 9," *JbfGMOD* 5 (1956): 1–38; Lieselott Enders, "Das Stiftungsjahr des Bistums Havelberg: 946 oder 948?" *JbfbrandLG* 45 (1994): 56–65.

[385] *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, no. 105, 187–188: "Terminum vero eidem parrochiae constituimus orientem versus ad flumen Odera et occidentem ac austrum versus usque Albiam flumen, ad aquilonem vero usque ad fines provintiarum supranominatarum: Vuucri, Riaciani, Dassia; . . ."; For the rejection of the authenticity of this charter preserved in original, without an attempt to consider the palaeographical and stylistic arguments, see Helmut Assing, "Wurde das Bistum Brandenburg wirklich 948 gegründet?" *JbbrandLG* 49 (1998): 7–18; Helmut Assing, "Das Bistum Brandenburg wurde wahrscheinlich doch erst 965 gegründet," *JbbrandLG* 51 (2000): 7–29. Persuasively against this view: Dietrich Kurze, "Otto I. und die Gründung des Bistums Brandenburg: 948, 949 oder 965?" *JbbrandLG* 50 (1999): 12–30, and especially Thomas Ludwig, "Die Gründungsurkunde für das Bistum Brandenburg: Zur Method der Urkundenkritik," *JbbrandLG* 53 (2002): 9–28.

[386] *Diplomata Ottonis III.*, no. 406, 552–553: "Misnensi episcopatui terminum posuimus nominando fines et determinationes locorum sicut infra tenetur: ubi caput et fons aquae quae dicitur Odera, inde quasi recta via usque ad caput Albiae, inde deorsum in occidentalem partem ubi divisio et confinium duarum regionum Behim et Nisenin, ibidem ultra Albiam et per silvam in occidentalem partem usque ad caput Mildae et sic deorsum ambas plagas eiusdem fluminis, scilicet prope occidentalem ripam Rochilinze, et sic usque dum Milta intrat in Albiam, nec non ob hoc diximus in occidentali plaga quia multae villae pertinent ad orientales urbes, et sic sursum et ultra provinciam Nizizi ad eundem terminum sine dubio, nec non in altera parte Lusizi et Selboli et sic usque ad civitatem Zulbiza, illam videlicet infra eundem terminum, et inde in aquam quae dicitur Odera et sic Odera sursum usque ad caput eius".

[387] For the extensive evidence of various types of the border marks in the sources of Italian origin and its classification, see Helmut Maurer, "Naturwahrnehmung und Grenzbeschreibung," 243–250.

Wroclaw) where bishops are provided with income from given areas. The differences, however, may also result from real circumstances: the rivers are not the natural borders of the area in question.[388] It does not mean that the above necessarily disproves the authenticity of the discussed description. It rather shows that explicitness was no priority in this case.

The charter to the bishopric of Meissen of 995 is interesting not only as a source for comparison, since it claims an area for Meissen which, according to the Prague privilege, belonged to the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Prague. The description of boundaries in the charter for Meissen is apparently similar to the text in the falsified (or altogether spurious) charter of Pope John XIII of 2nd January 968[389] and also to the definitely forged privilege of Otto I of 11th January 948.[390] With regard to the fact that even historians who believe in its authenticity focus on claims put forward

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[388] On the practical sense of the border marks, see also ibid., 251–253. Their use was connected with the "material nature" of medieval (and perhaps not solely medieval) memory, which required to be related to certain unusual phenomena, which it also explained, see Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Usque in hodiernum diem: Średniowieczne znaki pamięci," *PrzH* 72 (1981): 229–238.

[389] *Papsturkunden, 896–1046*, vol. 1, edited by Harald Zimmermann, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschrift 174, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission 3 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), vol. 1, no. 187, 367–370; Harald Zimmermann, *Regesta Imperii, v*ol. 2.5, *Papstregesten, 911–1024*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), no. 438, 134–135. For the most recent attempt to argue in favour of the authenticity of this charter, especially with reference to the lack of knowledge of the tenth-century Papal chancery practice, see Joachim Huth, "Die Frühgeschichte der Bistümer Meissen und Prag im Lichte der Bulle 'Si semper sunt' vom 2. I. 968," in *Millenium dioceseos Pragensis 973–1973: Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Mitteleuropas im 9.–11. Jahrhundert*, edited by Franz Zagiba, Annales Instituti Slavici 8 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1974), 73–94.

[390] *Diplomata Ottonis I.*, no. 437, 590. On the grounds of a palaeographical comparison, Gerard Labuda, "Studia diplomaticzne i geograficzno-historiczne," 133–140 reaches the conclusion that the uncertain ductus contradicts the idea that the privilege was issued by a chancery. Based upon the analysis of the contents of the charter, Labuda proposes that this document dates from 1017–1063/1064, that is, from the period of disputes concerning the unsettled borders between Merseburg and Meissen. Theo Kölzer and Thomas Ludwig, "Das Diplom Ottos III. für Meißen," in *Europas Mitte um 1000: Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archeologie*, vol. 2, edited by Alfried Wieczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), 764–766, likewise Beumann and Schlesinger, "Urkundenstudien zur deutschen Ostpolitik," 132–163 do not question its origin from a chancery. Affirmatively: Jürgen Petersohn, "König Otto III. und die Slawen an Ostsee, Oder und Elbe um das Jahr 995: Meklenburgzug, Slavnikidenmasaker, Meißenprivileg," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 37 (2003): 99–139, at 113–135, who connects this charter with Otto's alleged efforts to support the Slavnikids. Unfortunately, Jürgen Petersohn is not appropriately familiar with Czech literature, in which the views of Slavnikids' role have been revised on the grounds of Graus's conclusions. Pleszczyński, "Początek rządów," 226–231 also considers the document a "political declaration" created in a chancery.

by means of this charter, rather than on its actual value, further analysis is unnecessary: this issue is irrelevant to the question of the authenticity of Henry IV's charter. Nevertheless, it indicates to what extent an a priori concept determines the assessment of importance of "impartial" paleographical and stylistic arguments and also how many fully rational explanations of contradictory pieces of information—in this case descriptions from two possibly authentic charters—may be proposed.

Although objections against the authenticity of the abovementioned copy have been rejected, the crucial problem of the text inserted has not been solved yet: was the text of Henry IV's charter based on a description of the unified St. Adalbert's bishopric of Prague from a real charter, as Cosmas puts it?[391] Was it a text drawn up by Adalbert himself, devoid of any legal force?[392] Or might even the existence of two separate descriptions be supposed, one of the Diocese of Prague, the other of the Diocese of Moravia?[393]

The charter itself[394] in particular, besides a note in the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague*[395] and another in the so-called *Granum catalogi*,[396] an early-fifteenth-century source from Olomouc, supports the hypothesis of the authenticity of the description and its link to St. Adalbert. In contrast, because of alleged stylistic discrepancies and the usage of different types of topographical points of reference and varied "thickness" of the description

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[391] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.36, 135. Even in those cases when the scholars approve the existence of the only model, they consider this document a forgery, see e.g. Albert Brückner, "O počátcích dějin českých a polských," *ČČH* 24 (1918): 13–44, at 40–41.

[392] See recently e.g. Dušan Třeštík, "Sv. Vojtěch a formování střední Evropy," 90–91.

[393] Most recently, see Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów,* 326–327. Ze starších Gerard Labuda, "Czeskie chreścianstwo na Śląsku i w Małopolsce w X i XI wieku," in *Chrystianizacja Polski południowej* (Cracow: Secesja, 1994), 73–98, at 92–94. This issue is also closely related to the question of the existence of the Moravian bishopric in the tenth century, see above, p. 152, n. 658.

[394] *Diplomata Heinrici IV.*, no. 390, 516: ". . . quod Pragensis episcopatus, qui ab inicio per totum Boemie ac Moravie ducatum unus et integer constitutus est et tam a papa Benedicto quam a primo Ottone imperatore sic confirmatus est . . ."

[395] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.37, 135: ". . . privilegium . . . olim a sancto Adadlberto episcopo, suo antecessore, confirmatum tam a papa Benedicto, quam a primo Ottone imperatore . . ."

[396] Johann Loserth, ed., "Das Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae: Nach der Handschrift des Olmützer Domkapitel-Archives," *AfÖG* 78 (1892): 62–97, at 64: "Tempore sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopi secundi anno episcopatus sui tercio Moraviensis episcopatus Pragensi episcopio Benedicti pape VII Othonisque imperatoris secundi confirmacione et pii Boleslai ducis consensu accedente usque ad tempora Severi episcopi Pragensis sexti et Vratislai ducis Boemie fuit unitus". Most recently on this source, see David Kalhous, "Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae jako pramen k dějinám Moravy v 10. století?," *MHB* 11 (2007): 23–38.

of the boundaries, some researchers argue in favour of the existence of two originally separate descriptions.[397]

The superiority of the Bishops of Prague over Bohemia and Moravia from the very beginning, which opposes the mention of a Moravian Bishop of 976, also appears to provide testimony against Adalbert as being the author of the text. This seeming controversy may be explained with the help of a set of charters which deal with the dispute over the existence of the bishopric of Merseburg. According to an indubitably genuine charter of Benedict VII, this Bishopric was suppressed in 981, since it had allegedly been established without the consent of Hildeward, Bishop of Halberstadt.[398] Yet another authentic charter, by Benedict's predecessor, John XIII, notes that Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, and Hildeward, Bishop of Halberstadt, approved the foundation of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and its suffragan bishoprics, this means also Merseburg, established in appropriate locations with charters signed in their own hands.[399] Thus, it seems that implementation of legal illusions was a viable course of action in the tenth century. Moreover, when taking into account the respect for Canon Law at that time, this was perhaps the only possible way of changing things, while maintaining consensus and the Law.

We can argue that the Diploma of Pope John XV for the Břevnov Monastery of the 31st May 993—in contrast to the charter for the bishopric of Prague—reflects a new situation, when the Přemyslids allegedly subjugated the whole of Bohemia.[400] The tithes of three regions—Litoměřice, Bílina, and Děčín—are mentioned here. Thus the Papal charter provides

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[397] Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów,* 311.

[398] *Papsturkunden*, vol. 1, no. 269, 526: "... sine consensu atque suubscriptione canonica fratris nostri et coepiscopi Hildeuuardi ..."

[399] Ibid., no. 190, 375: "... confratres Hatto, sanctę Magunciensis ęcclesieę archiepiscopus, et Hildiuuardus, Halberstadensis ęcclesie episcopus, et comprovinciales episcopi, sicut per consentaneas et petitorias litteras ab ipsis propriis manibus roboratas, quę in presentia nostra ante corpu beati Petri apostoli relectę sunt, didicimus, in predicta Magadaburg(ensi) civitate archiepiscopalem sedem privilegio apostolicę sedis statui ordinaverunt, quę ultra Albiam et Salam in congruentibus locis subiectos episcopos, qui nunc ordinati sunt et ordinandi futuris temporis erunt, habeat ..."

[400] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 38, 45: "... decimas quoque triarum provinciarum Lvtomericensis, Belinensis, Dechinensis ..." For the recent proof of the authenticity of this charter—and the discovery of the further forged passages—, see Josef Žemlička, "K hodnověrnosti listiny Jana XV. pro klášter v Břevnově (31. V. 993)," in *Milénium břevnovského kláštera (993–1993): Sborník statí o jeho významu a postavení v českých dějinách*, edited by Marie Bláhová and Ivan Hlaváček (Prague: Karolinum, 1993), 25–39. Josef Žemlička also points out that the given paragraph was reformulated in the early thirteenth century, see ibid., 31–37.

comparative material on the localization of the western boundary of the bishopric of Prague.[401] So this conclusion establishes the year 993 as the *datum ante quem* of the origin of the description under discussion.[402]

This reflection, however, neglects the fact that John XV's privilege only survived in Premysl Ottokar I's charter of 1224[403] and, as former analyses show, the original text was altered by means of various insertions strengthening the position of the Abbot of Břevnov.[404] Boleslav II and other dukes of Bohemia might indeed have granted property rights to the monastery in a confirmation charter. But it is unclear by whom, when and how the monastery was supported. Also the option cannot be ruled out that "historical facts" (e.g. terminology) were adjusted as to the time of the confirmation. For that matter, further donations were issued half a century later and so it is not possible to decide what Boleslav II (972–999) could have donated to the monastery.

More important reservations must be voiced concerning another matter, namely the comparison of the charters themselves. The comparison shows that the privilege for Břevnov, as well as the charter for the bishopric of Prague, mention the Litoměřice and Děčín regions;[405] they only differ in the fact that the latter also refers to the Bílina region. This comparative consideration implicitly proceeds from the idea of the completeness of the description in the charter for the bishopric of Prague. However, the chronology of the fortified settlement in Žatec, which was evidently built in the 920s or 930s and does not appear in this Diploma, contradicts the above assumption.[406]

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[401] Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów,* 324–325. Owing to the fact that she regards the social trends behind this structure as rather long-term inclinations, Matła-Kozlowska rejects the idea of the possible creation of the description under the episcopate of St. Adalbert. However, one should realise that the trends mentioned by Marzena Matła-Kozlowska may have come to light in different areas at a different pace. Strictly speaking, there is little evidence of the pace of these transformations. The existing knowledge is only based on the charter in question and some archaeological data of an uncertain value.

[402] Ibid., 325.

[403] *CDB*, vol. 2, no. 259, 248–251.

[404] Žemlička, "K hodnověrnosti listiny Jana XV."

[405] See *Diplomata Heinrici IV.,* vol. 2, no. 390, 516. This document contains the names . . . *Dazana, Liutomerici* . . . Nevertheless, these words were formed on the basis of the names of castles and thus they are not the original ethnonyms.

[406] Dendrochronology establishes the period between 929–935 as the *datum post quem*. At the same time, the ethnographical and other parallels can be applied, according to which felled wood dried for three years. Thus, the settlement in Žatec must have been constructed in 929–938, see Petr Čech, "Žatec v raném středověku," in *Žatec*, edited by Ivana Ebelová et al. (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2004), 59–60; see also the methodical objections

Besides the objections to the style and some alleged discrepancies in the contents, which, however, have been explained above, one other factual comment, related to the localization of the eastern borders, can be made against the hypothesis that the description dates back to Bishop Adalbert's times: there is the contradiction, so far unresolved, between Adalbert's description in Henry IV's charter and the statement of the author of the *Russian Primary Chronicle*,[407] who wrote of the year 981: "In the year 6489 Vladimir marched against the Lendians and took their towns Przemysl, Cherven and other towns, which are under the power of the Russians by these days."[408]

There are, however, several problems in interpreting the Russian annalist's account. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* was only written in the early twelfth century.[409] Scholars presume that the Chronicle was based on the collections of earlier annals, but the date of their origin is uncertain.[410] Also the attempts to identify the *Lendians* and "Red Ruthenia" have resulted in lengthy disputes. Whereas the older historiography identified those castles with strongholds in the North, in this regard Jerzy Kotlarczyk points out the settlements in the surroundings of Przemysl, which had actually been built on red rocks and formed an integrated system of defence interconnected with Przemysl.[411] Since Przemysl is situated on the Western Bug in today's Ukraina and the castles defending the town even further to the

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in Ivo Štefan, "Několik poznámek ke stati Petra Čecha v nové knize o Žatci," *AR* 56 (2004): 856–858.

[407] For recent literature and its analysis, see Hans-Jürgen Grabmüller, "Die russischen Chroniken des 11.–18. Jhs. im Spiegel der Sowjetforschung, 1917–1975, 2: Povesť vremennych let," *JbfGOE NF* 25 (1977): 66–90.

[408] *Повесть временных лем в лѣто 6489*, 58: "*Иде Володимеръ к Ляхом и зая грады их Перемышль Червенъ и ины грады иже суть и до сего дне подъ Русью.*"

[409] See especially Stefan M. Kuczyński, "O wyprawie Włodzimierza ku Lachom na podstawie wzmianki z r. 981 w Opowieści lat dorocznych," in Stefan M. Kuczyński, *Studia z dziejów Europy wschodniej X–XVII w* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), 33–118. The author objects against the uncritical reception of this mention and emphasises the lack of plausibility concerning the chronology in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*.

[410] Михаил Н. Тихомиров, "Начало русской историографии," *Вопроси истории* 5 (1960): 41–56. The author proves the existence of the late-tenth-century *Gesta* of the Russian. Dimitrii S. Lichačev, the editor of the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, dates the earliest annals to the end of the first half of the eleventh century, see the introduction to *Повесть временных лем*.

[411] Józef Kotlarczyk, "Grody Czerweńskie a karpacki system obronny pod Przemyślem we wczesnym średniowieczu," *Acta Archeologica Carpathica* 11 (1969–1970): 239–269. If the Southern Bug was taken into account, the borders of Boleslav's domain would have extended deep into the present-day Ukraine. What is more, this option would contradict the idea of the presence of the powerful Pechenegs in this area, see Kuczyński, "O wyprawie

East and simultaneously to the South of the Styr River, the information of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* and the charter for the bishopric of Prague do not inevitably contradict each other: the existence of borders going from the Bug to the Tatra Mountains does not exclude the presence of the Ledzians in the Przemysl region. We have no direct evidence, but this solution does not oppose the relevant sources at least.

In attempting to identify the Lendiens, one can use several sources, but their evidence cannot be regarded as unquestionable. In an account of *Widukind's Chronicle* from the 960s, Mieszko I is referred to as the King ruling over *Licicaviki*.[412] This laconic note, however, does not make it possible to unambiguously decide whether or not Mieszko was their ruler only. In any case, the question remains open as to whether Widukind's *Licicaviki* and Nestor's *Lendians* are identical. The mention by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913–959) in his work, *De administrando imperio,* on *Lidziké (Λιτζίχη)*, inhabiting the area around the Vistula,[413] facilitates a more precise geographical specification of this ethnic group. It can, again, hardly be determined to what extent this reference corresponds with Widukind and Nestor's accounts. In particular, the fact that Constantine's work predates *Widukind's Chronicle* by more than twenty years and was compiled on the basis of not only contemporary, but also archival sources, urges caution in reading its accounts.

Labuda proceeds from the hypothesis of Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, who analyses the mutation, *Lędzien – Lędjanin* – Lęch – Ljach*, and points out that the Russians originally termed a certain group settled around the Vistula as the Lędzians and only later, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was the term applied to all the inhabitants of the Piast realm because of their common language.[414] Labuda backs the idea of the existence of a separate *Lendizi* by means of a reference to the *De administrando imperio*, where this ethnic group is mostly connected with Russia and described

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Włodzimierza," 41–52. Therefore, the Southern Bug is commonly not considered, see e.g. the map in Labuda, "O obrządku słowiańskim," 135.

[412] *Widukindi Libri tres*, 3.66, 141: "Misacam regem, cuius potestatis erant Sclavi qui dicuntur Licicaviki . . ."

[413] *Konstantini De administrando imperio*, chap. 33, 392.

[414] Gerard Labuda, "Polska, Czechy, Ruś i kraj Lędzian w drugiej połowie X wieku," in Gerard Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 2 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1988), 167–211, at 176–179. See also Tadeusz Lehr–Spławiński, "Lędzice–Lędziane–Lachowie," in *Opuscula Casimiro Tymienieccki septuagenario dedicata* (Poznań. Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1959. (Unfortunately, I did not have this study at my disposal.)

as Russia's tributary. In Labuda's viewpoint, this opposes its identification with the "Poles".[415] This is why he bases his localization of the *Lendians* on the *Russian Primary Chronicle* and Constantine Porphyrogenitus' work, and locates the unknown "ethnic" in the Przemysl region.[416]

Marzena Matla-Kozłowska states that the author of the Chronicle mentions the seizure of castles only in the case of conflicts with well-marked formations; but as far as struggles with unspecified "ethnicity" are concerned, the chronicler either ignores them or mentions their subjugation.[417] This would, in her opinion, diminish the likelihood of the just identification of "Liachs" with a tribe of *Lędzians*.[418] Simultaneously, she points out that Henry IV's charter does not mention the *Lędzians*, and thus it is not possible that they were an amorphous ethnic group; on the contrary, they were a synonym for the "Polish state".[419]

Since there is no evidence of Vladimir's victory of 981, one cannot discover whether he actually subjugated these "Ljachs" as a whole. Testimonies concerning the level of their organisation are lacking as well. Moreover, the fact that the *Lędzians* are not mentioned in the charter in question does not prove anything: these *Lędzians* may have lived beyond the borders of the Diocese of Prague, namely to the South of the Bug and Styr and to the East of the Vah province, for that is the area where Red Ruthenia is located, not only by Józef Kotlarczyk[420] and Gerard Labuda,[421] but also by Marzena Matla-Kozłowska herself.[422]

As the objections against the authenticity of the description in question have been disproved, one must inevitably respect the assertions of the two sources that pre-date it to the times of Bishop Adalbert. And since this description was part of the document by which the bishopric of Moravia was connected with the bishopric of Prague, the existence of a Moravian bishopric in the tenth century is proved, regardless of the charter by the Archbishop of Mainz of 976.

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[415] Ibid., 180–182, 207–208.
[416] Ibid., 184–192.
[417] Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów,* 406–407.
[418] Ibid., 406–407.
[419] Ibid., 407.
[420] Kotlarczyk, "Grody Czerweńskie."
[421] See esp. the map in Labuda, "Polska, Czechy, Ruś," 192.
[422] Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów,* 414.

The extant pieces of information even make it possible to consider the question of the charter's issuer. The *Granum* connects the document with Benedict VII (974–983)[423] and the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague* simply with Pope Benedict.[424] The two sources, however, differ in referring to Otto I (936–973)[425] or his son of the same name.[426] Since the papal charters commonly mention regnal years but not ordinal numbers[427] and the royal diplomas do not mention a Pope, it seems justifiable to suppose that the basis of the copy was a papal charter. Moreover, in this regard, Rostislav Nový points out that Benedict VII's diplomas, in which Otto II (973–983) interfered, do not mention years. Thus he indirectly explains the confused chronology of the later sources.[428] Also the fact that a decision within Church Law is concerned here, indicates the role of the Roman Curia. A relatively late, so far neglected Cosmas account on the Papal charter for the bishopric of Prague, allegedly showing the extent of Boleslav's expansion,[429] gives further evidence in favour of the above. Thus, the authenticity not only of Henry IV's charter itself, but also of the included description of the borders of the bishopric of Prague, originating from Benedict VII's charter of the 980s which unified the bishopric of Prague and the bishopric of Moravia, has been satisfactorily proved.

Besides the abovementioned accounts recognized by modern historiography, there exist further, highly problematic sources: the thirteenth-century *Gesta Hungarorum* by Simon of Kéza[430] and the fourteenth-century *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*.[431] Both chronicles

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[423] *Granum catalogi ad A. 971*, 46: "... episcopio Benedicti pape VII ..."

[424] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.37, 135: "... privilegium ... olim a sancto Adadlberto episcopo, suo antecessore, confirmatum tam a papa Benedicto, quam a primo Ottone imperatore ..."

[425] Ibid., 2.37, 135.

[426] *Granum catalogi ad A. 971*, 46: "... Othonisque imperatoris secundi confirmacione ..."

[427] Rudolf Schieffer, "Zur Datierungsformular der Papsturkunden des 10. und des frühen 11. Jahrhunderts," in *Ex ipsis rerum documentis: Beiträge zur Mediävistik; Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Klaus Herbers (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), 73–84.

[428] Rostislav Nový, "K předloze DH IV. 390," in *Sciencia nobilitat: Sborník k poctě prof. PhDr. Františka Kavky, DrSc*, edited by Michal Svatoš. Příspěvky k dějinám vzdělanosti 1 (1998) (Prague: Karolinum, 1999), 9–12.

[429] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.34, 60: "Hic gloriosissimus dux secundus Bolezlaus vere et hodie haud [satis], plangendus cuius memoria in benedictione est, in quantum apostolica dilataverit ferro sui terminos ducatus, apostolica testatur auctoritas in privilegio eiusdem Pragensis episcopatus".

[430] *Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum*, edited by A. Domanovszky, *SRH* 1 (Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungarica, 1937), 141–194.

[431] In *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.*, edited by A. Domanovszky, *SRH* 1 (Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungarica, 1937), 217–505. For literature, see Richard

were based on the no longer available *Gesta Hungarorum* from the time
of Ladislaus I (1077–1095).[432] But even the assumption of the existence of
an earlier source cannot serve as sufficient evidence for the verification
of the accounts in question. However, proving that these accounts are
implausible is as difficult as verifying the authenticity of the charter and
the other abovementioned sources. The reason is obvious: the situation at
that time in present-day Central-Eastern and Eastern Europe is shrouded
in mist.

According to Simon of Kéza, the Hungarians first expelled the Moravi-
ans (?) and Bohemians from the Principality of Nitra,[433] then conquered
Pannonia, robbed the Bohemians and Moravians and killed their Duke
Vratislav in a battle.[434] The *Chronicon pictum*, in similar vein, notes that
Leel expelled "the Moravians, that is Bohemians from the Golgotha (?)
region"[435] and, in another place, it mentions that Bohemia and Moravia
were plundered under Duke Vratislav, in the seventh year after the death
of Svatopluk, and subsequently peace was made.[436]

Pražák's introduction to the translation *Legendy a kroniky koruny uherské*, 340–350;
Carlile A. McCarthy, The medieval Hungarian historian: a critical and analytical guide
(Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1953); Lászlo Veszprémy, "Gesta Hungarorum:
Die Anfänge der nationalen Chronistik im Mittelalter," in *Europas Mitte um 1000: Beiträge
zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archeologie*, vol. 2, edited by Alfried Wieczorek and Hans-Martin
Hinz (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), 868–870.

[432] For the overview of the argumentation, see Iosephus Déer, *Quis fuerit fons primi-
genius gestorum chronicorumque Hungaricorum medii aevi ex saeculo XI. oriundus at post
deperditus*, SRH 1 (Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungarica, 1937), 1–11. See also József
Gerics, "Textbezüge zwischen den ungarischen Chroniken der Sankt-Ladislaus-Legende,"
AH ASH 19 (1973): 273–303.

[433] *Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum* 2.32, 166: "Iel ergo exercitus sexti ductor fuerat.
Iste circa Golgocha primitus habitans, exinde Messianis et Boemis exstirpatis, tandem in
partibus Nittriae saepius fertur habitasse".

[434] Ibid., 2.34, 167: "Cum autem resedissent Pannonia occupata, tandem Moraviam et
Boemiam bonis omnibus spoliarunt Waratizlao eorum duce in praelio interfecto".

[435] *Chronicon pictum*, chap. 32, 291–292: "Sed quintus [capitaneus] Leel est nomina-
tus, qui Messianos, scilicet Boheminos de partibus Golgate expulit diutius castra metatus
fuisse perhibetur".

[436] Ibid., chap. 54, 304: "Postquam autem Zuatopolug per Ungaros, ut superius dictum
est, necatus et Hungari descendissent in Pannoniam, per sex annos eorum arma et equos
meliorare curaverunt. Anno igitur VII–o Morauiam et Boemiam, in quibus eo tempore
dux Vratizlaus regnare videbatur, crudeliter spoliaverunt. Exinde cum victoria redeuntes
treudgis ordinatis cum prefato duce uno anno quieverunt".

On the basis of the *Annales Corbeienses*,[437] *Continuatio Reginonis*[438] and the Chronicle of Adam of Bremen,[439] however, many historians[440] regard the Bohemians rather as the allies of the Hungarians. The most recent efforts to solve the question of a potential Přemyslid-Hungarian alliance have been made in connection with the identification of Bishop Notker in the Croatian Glagolitic version of the *First Old Slavonic Legend*.[441] Vojtěch Tkadlčík succeeds in finding the only Bishop of that name who was a contemporary of St. Wenceslas: Notker of Verona, a confidant of Italian kings.[442] Dušan Třeštík confirms and accepts this idea and also proposes an explanation of the Italian Bishop's stay in Prague. For Třeštík, the reason for the Bishop's presence was an endeavour to strengthen the alliance between Berengar, Arnulf, the Hungarians and Vratislav.[443] Dušan Třeštík also attempts to explain the mention of Vratislav's death at Hungarian hands with a confusion of Vratislav I (915–921) with Vratislav II (1061–1092) in the Hungarian source.[444] But even this questioning of the Hungarian sources cannot be fully accepted. Since accounts of various lines of Hungarian narrative sources correspond to each another, the mention of the struggle between Vratislav and the Hungarians

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[437] *Die Corveyer Annalen*, edited by Joseph Prinz, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Komission für Westfalen 10, Abhandlungen zur Korveyer Geschichtsschreibung 7 (Münster: Lax, 1982), 109: "Vngarii in saxoniam uenerunt"; Ibid., 915, 111: "Deuastacio hungariorum in ualun, et bellum in heresburg."; Ibid., 919, 112: "Vngarii saxoniam crudeliter vastabant. Et cum infinita pręda et maxima captiuitate utriusque sexus ad proprias reuersi sunt terras; Domino irrascente adversum nos".

[438] *Continuatio Reginonis ad A. 908*, 154: "Ungarii iterum terminos transgressi Saxoniam et Turingiam vastaverunt."; Ibid., 915, 155: "Ungariis totam Alamanniam igne et gladio vastaverunt, sed totam Turingam et Saxoniam pervaserunt et usque ad Fuldam monasterium pervenerunt".

[439] *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, edited by Bernhard Schmeidler, *MGH* SRG 2 (Hannover: Hahn 1917), 1.52, 53: "In diebus illis inmanissima persecutio Saxoniam oppressit, cum hinc Dani et Sclavi, inde Behemi et Ungri laniarent ecclesiis".

[440] Most recently, see Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów,* 127–132.

[441] *První staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu. Charvátohlaholská redakce*, 36–37.

[442] Vojtěch Tkadlčík, "Kdo udělil postřižiny sv. Václavu?" *LF* 103 (1980): 209–212. There is little evidence of this Bishop, he is only mentioned as a petitioner and royal *missus* in few royal charters, see *I diplomi di Berengario I.*, edited by Luigi Schiaparelli, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 35 (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1903), no. 113, 292, 293 of [?916]; Ibid., no. 117, 303, 308 of January 918; *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto*, edited by Luigi Schiaparelli, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 38 (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1924), no. 1, 3–6 ze 7. 8. 926.

[443] Dušan Třeštík, "Václav a Berengar: Politické pozadí postřižin sv. Václava roku 915," *ČČH* 89 (1991): 641–661, at 649–661.

[444] Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, 535–935, 363.

presumably already appeared in the lost *Gesta.* These *Gesta Hungarorum,* however, date from the period of Vratislav II and it is unlikely that a mid-eleventh-century author confused his contemporary with a person from the early tenth century.

Historians argue against the accounts of Vratislav having been killed by the Hungarians, with reference to the fact that none of the earliest legends mentions the death of Vratislav in combat.[445] Nevertheless, in this way, a hypothesis was construed which dictated to the tenth-century authors of legends what they should write, without any positive argumentation in favour of this approach. It is an open issue, rather than the basis of viable reasoning as to whether this event might meet any interest of the author of the legends of St. Ludmila or St. Wenceslas and how it might be inserted into their hagiographical scheme.

The alliance of the Přemyslids and Hungarians has allegedly also been proved by archaeological sources. At least Michael Lutovský explains, as the result of this alliance, the collapse of a group of South Bohemian settlements, in whose latest layer Hungarian arrows were found.[446] Nevertheless, even the assertion of the presence of Hungarians is not indubitable: it proceeds from a quite straightforward "ethnical" interpretation of archaeological material. Lutovský's reflection on the alliance of the Přemyslids and Hungarians, which reportedly resulted in the siege and seizure of the South Bohemian settlements, rather accepts the existence of this alliance as a given fact, without much effort to justify it independently.

Although no doubts can be raised that Hungarian attacks also afflicted the area of present-day Bohemia and that Třeštík's hypothesis on the existence of friendly relations (or rather, contact) between Berengar, Arnulf, the Hungarians and Přemyslids is plausible, this "alliance" unfortunately cannot be precisely defined in terms of chronology. It is not clear either whether the Hungarian historical tradition originally, that is already in the eleventh century, referred to a stable Přemyslid domain in the Nitra

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[445] Matla-Kozłowska, *Państwo Przemyślidów,* 200.

[446] Cf. Lutovský, "Mezi Bavorskem a Moravou," 267–274. See also Jan Michálek and Michael Lutovský, *Hradec u Němětic: Sídlo halštatské a raněstředověké nobility v česko-bavorském kontaktním prostoru.* 3 vols. Strakonice: Muzeum středního Pootaví; Ústav archeologické památkové péče středních Čech, 2000, 232–234. On the findings of luxury objects of the so-called Blatnice-Mikulčice horizon, proving the contacts between Moravia and South Bohemia, see Naďa Profantová, "Přínos archeologie k poznání českých dějin devátého století," *SMP* 2, (1991): 29–60, at 36–50.

region.[447] It is worth noting that Simon of Kéza and the *Chronicon Pictum* differ on this point: the *Chronicon Pictum* mentions Vratislav's death, but does not mention anything about Nitra.[448]

So one cannot exclude the possibility that the Hungarian sources have a certain value and reflect an echo of the conflict between the Hungarians and Přemyslids, without ruling out the existence of a temporary alliance (or rather friendly contacts) a few years before this conflict, or necessitating the acceptance of Přemyslid rule in the Nitra region. It is also apparent that the distance of the Hungarian sources from the events they describe, together with the suspicious state of preservation of their texts, does not make it possible to regard the aforementioned options as anything other than a hypothesis.

After making efforts to clarify the issues of source criticism connected with the Hungarian chronicles, as well as the other sources proving the existence of the Piast and Přemyslid realms, a much more important question must be answered: to what extent can these sources be implemented in interpreting the political circumstances in late-tenth-century Central Europe and, by extension, to what extent does their assessment depend on the concept which one endeavours to create on the basis of those sources? It has been shown, in the course of the analysis of individual pieces of evidence, that the majority of disputes over their authenticity and relevance have arisen from an attempt to uncover the extent of the political power of the Přemyslids and Piasts. In fact, however, these efforts depend on two premises: firstly, the borders of the political and ecclesiastical areas are identical; secondly, the political claims contained in the analysed charters correspond to the "political reality". Both premises are highly uncertain. That is why, for instance, Henry IV's charter and the

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[447] Besides Simona of Kéza, see also *P. Magistri Gesta Hungarorum*, edited by Emil Jakubovich, *SRH* 1 (Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungarica, 1937), 77: "De Nitra civitate: . . . Qui cum velocissimo cursu venient usque ad rivulum Turmas, ubi descendit in rivulum Nytre, viderunt habitatores illius provincie Sclauos et Boemos eis obsistere cum adiutorio ducis Boemorum, quia mortuo Athila rege terram, que iacet inter Wag et Gron a Danubio usque ad fluvium Moroua dux Boemorum sibi preocupaverat et in unum ducatum fecerat et tunc tempore per gratiam ducis Boemorum dux Nitriensis factus est Zubur."; Ibid., chap. 33, 74: "De castro Nougrad et Nitra: In eiusdem temporibus dux Arpad, dum se per milites suos vidisset ita sublimatum et tutum esse, tunc habito inter se consilio misit multos milites in expeditionem, qui subiugarent sibi populum de castro gumut et Nougrad, et, si fortuna eis faveret, tunc ascenderent versus fines Boemorum usque ad castrum Nitra".

[448] *Chronicon pictum*, chap. 54, 304: "Anno igitur VII-o Morauiam et Boemiam, in quibus eo tempore dux Vratizlaus regnare videbatur, crudeliter spoliaverunt. Exinde cum victoria redeuntes treudgis ordinatis cum prefato duce uno anno quieverunt".

included description, the authenticity of which has been so laboriously proven, can with certitude only be regarded as proof of the claims of the Bishops of Prague.[449]

Other conclusions which have been drawn by means of individual analyses must be considered in a similar way, too. The examination of sources have resulted in the confirmation of the hypothesis of a more closely unspecified relation of Boleslav I (935–972) and his son to the Cracow region, proven for the year 965 at the latest and persisting probably until the mid-980s.[450] Also the hypothesis of a certain form of Přemyslid rule in present-day Silesia, and Northern and Central Moravia in the 980s does not contradict the further pieces of evidence of other sources. The research of Sławomir Moździoch, however, indicates that even if the Přemyslids had laid claim on the region of the later Silesia, they certainly did not implement substantial changes of structures of power in the given area.[451] Absolutely nothing can be said on the form of the potential Přemyslid rule. For that matter, it has already been stated above that it is not possible to think of a realm in the sense as stated by Timothy Earl.

On the one hand, the existence of the Přemyslid claims—and perhaps a certain influence—on the area of the present-day Lesser Poland is proved above. On the other hand, sources do not make it possible to specify either the point in time when the Přemyslids lodged those claims nor the date when the area was conquered by the Piasts. Contemporary sources point out the conflict between Mieszko and Boleslav as being in 990, but they do not mention which area Mieszko acquired at the expense

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[449]   In this context, it is still worth posing the question as to why Henry IV's charter was issued in the given form in 1086, for, regarding the given period, this document contains a wildly exaggarated demarcation of the future borders of the Prague bishopric, which would encompass not only the Moravian bishopric, but also the bishoprics of Wroclaw and Cracow. This can be regarded as an attempt to question the legitimity of these bishoprics. What is more, at that time, Vratislav II was crowned King of Bohemia and Poland, which may indicate that Vratislav's coronation and the issuance of the document under discussion were interconnected not only by means of the close relationships between Jaromír, Vratislav II and Emperor Henry IV. The Přemyslid claims to the Piast domains were not unique.

[450]   Besides the reasons mentioned above, the fact that St Wenceslas was patron saint of the Cracow Cathedral is also worth considering. Still, even in this case a few other explanations may be proposed. The account of Mieszko's conquest of Cracow from the hands of Boleslav III is, beyond any doubt, of major value in this regard, too.

[451]   Cf. e.g. Sławomir Moździoch, "Slezsko v 10. století," in *Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000: Na paměť knížete Boleslava II. († 7. února 999)*, edited by Luboš Polanský, Jiří Sláma, and Dušan Třeštík (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2000), 215–224, 338–344.

of Boleslav. Cosmas's account as to the year 999 is close to an ideal piece of evidence. Still, its message is not completely indubitable, for Cosmas confuses Mieszko with Boleslav and creates the option of considering a different chronology. Thus, the only certainty is that the area was under some kind of influence of Boleslav I and Boleslav II from the 950s to the 980s.[452] Sources, however, make it possible to reconstruct the chronology in several different ways, according to the emphasis on the value of the arguments implemented.

The question as to how precisely the Přemyslid expansion can be dated is not one that extant sources are capable of answering. The form of rule in the abovementioned areas will also remain unclear.[453] In employing the widely used but misleading term, "empire", by Czech historians in this exposition, one could broaden its meaning to the extent that this term would be deprived of any sense.

The increase in interconnections between seemingly completely different fields of research, "technical" source criticism and narrating and clarifying history, is enormous, as far as tenth-century Central Europe, that is a period (and region) of exceedingly scarce sources, is concerned. It is this limited body of sources and their dispersion over time and space that places a question mark over the legitimacy of earlier efforts to "narrate the story" of the origins of the "Přemyslid state".

Historians who have actively participated in the discussion in question have often noticed this interconnectedness even earlier. Typically, they reflect on this fact in the works of their colleagues, not in their own research.

Whereas sources give only a very limited range of clear answers concerning the extent of the Přemyslid and Piast expansions, the close connection of the results of individual "objective" source criticisms, with a priori postulated concepts of the past, social existence and frontiers of knowledge, is much more conspicuous. Because of the extremely limited body of data which is employed in their construction, these clarifications tend to be excessively stretched and simultaneously unstable, for

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[452] It must be stressed that, in the tenth-century view, the collecting of the tributes signalised the upper hand.

[453] As a matter of fact, Czech nor Polish historiography has claimed this, see e.g. Třeštík, "Struktura feudální společnosti," 29–30. In this regard, the author uses the term "core organised by the state", to which extensive areas were connected, controlled either by the garrisons or the local elites. Thus, the problem lies rather in the vague terminology which does not concur with the ideas of the researchers who are beyond a concrete discourse.

any individual explanation plays a much more significant role within the framework of the whole than in the case of major statistical complexes.

That is why the entire discussion does not say so much about tenth-century history. It rather reflects, in greater or smaller measure, the hidden assumptions of the given tradition of research, which assumes the existence of the state and its relative continuity in the Bohemian lands and Poland from the early Middle Ages up to modern times. This is the main point which determines the entire discussion and interconnects its participants. This "bewitchment by the state" can be regarded as comparable with the French concern for the issue of continuity with the Roman period or the German interest in the question of "freemen" and the "aristocracy". It can be conceived of as a symbolic centre, that is, a scope of issues around which several competing explication models are concentrated.[454]

3. *The Přemyslid Aristocracy and the Relationship between Centre and Periphery*

Werner Hechberger recently summed up the review of his research on early medieval aristocracy as follows: "Research has only confirmed the fact that no final overall picture of early medieval history is possible, which would achieve full consensus."[455] He was not the first to express a similar viewpoint, as the origin of aristocracy has been discussed since the Middle Ages. For example, Czech medieval scholar and noble Tomáš Štítný (* ca. 1333, † between 1401 and 1409) already felt the need for justifying the existence of aristocracy: "There were no lords in the beginning, people were all equal; however, human anger resulted in the need to have lords rule over them."[456]

The most important Czech historian, František Palacký (1798–1876), portrayed a state of Slavic democracy in sharp contrast to Germanic

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[454] See Miloš Havelka, *Spor o smysl českých dějin* (Prague: Torst, 2001), 9–15; cf. also Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, vol. 1, *Die Sprache* (*Zur Phänomenologie der sprachlichen Form*), Gesammelte Werke 11, edited by Birgit Recki and Claus Rosenkranz (Hamburg: Meiner Verlag, 2001), and his concept of "symbolic forms". About Ernst Cassirer, cf. Edward Sidelsky, *Ernst Cassirer: the last philosopher of culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), on 100–127 about his *Philosophy of symbolic forms*.

[455] Werner Hechberger, *Adel im fränkisch-deutschen Mittelalter: Zur Anatomie eines Forschungsproblems* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005), 97.

[456] Tomáš Štítný ze Štítného, *Knížky šestery o věcech křesťanských*. Edited by Karel J. Erben (Prague: Pražská univerzita, 1852), 152.

feudalism—which was supposedly based on oppression and violence. Nevertheless, nearly the same idea of early society was formulated by important German historians of his time, Karl Eichhorn and Georg Waitz.[457] However, both German historians linked the "Teutonic idea" to freedom,[458] promoting the concept of a strong state, weakened by aristocratic usurpation. The character of the state was determined by a class of freemen, serfs of the king and state, only partially separated from the class of the powerful.[459] Although both of them presume the existence of nobles before

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[457] František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě, vol. 1, Od pravěkosti až do roku 1253*, 3rd ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1876), 79: ". . . u nich (Slovanů) stejné svobody, stejných prav a povinnosti každý občan oučasten býti měl. Vlada jejich byla veskrze demokratická. Pročež neznali s počátku knížat dědičných ani rozdílů stavův." See also ibid., 196–200. For critical view of "Slavic democracy" and the Marxist concept of the so-called "military democracy" see Florin Curta, "Feasting with 'Kings' in an Ancient Democracy: On the Slavic Society of the Early Middle Ages (Sixth to Seventh Century A. D.)," Essays in Medieval Studies 15 (1997): 19–34.

[458] The basis of this conservative-liberal concept is formed by the theory of "freemen", *Gemeinfreien*, but, paradoxically, it is the attitude of the aforementioned historians and their critics to the issue of early medieval aristocracy that plays the key role in distinguishing the concept as a whole. Useful survey is Johannes Schmitt, *Untersuchungen zu den Liberi Homines der Karolingerzeit.* Europäische Hochschulschriften 3.83 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1977); critical remarks could be find in Karl Bosl, *Die Grundlagen der modernen Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Eine Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol 1. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 4.1 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1972), or in his "Freiheit und Unfreiheit: Zur Entwicklung der Unterschichten in Deutschland und Frankreich während des Mittelalters," in Karl Bosl. *Frühformen der Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Europa: Ausgewählte Beiträge zu einer Strukturanalyse der mittelalterlichen Welt* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1964), 180–203. For Přemyslid realm see Wolfgang H. Fritze, "Phänomene und Probleme des westslawischen Bauerntums am Beispiel des frühpřemyslidischen Böhmen," in *Das Dorf der Eisenzeit und des frühen Mittelalters: Siedlungsform, wirtschaftliche Funktion, soziale Struktur*, edited by Herbert Jankuhn, Rudolf Schützeichel, and Fred Schwind. Abh. d. A. d. W. in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse 3.101 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1977), 494–529, or František Graus, *Dějiny venkovského lidu v Čechách v době předhusitské*. Vol. 1 (Prague: Státní nakladatelství politické literatury, 1953).

[459] Karl F. Eichhorn, *Deutsche Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 1, 5th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhöck und Ruprecht, 1843), 62–63 uses the expression "noble elites", *edlen Eliten*; see also Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Kiel: Schwers, 1844), 81–85, at 82: "Das Wesen des Adels ist eben Erblichkeit, hierauf, nicht auf das Maass der Vorrechte kommt es an." Cf. ibid., 178. On the transformation of the relationships between magnates and the king in the Merovingian period, see ibid., 131: "Eben dem setzt sich dann die wachsende Macht der Grossen entgegen; sie beginnt den Kampf mehr gegen die königliche Wilkuhr als gegen das königliche Recht, aber er endet damit, das Konigthum aller Kraft und Starke, aller Bedeutung und Wurde zu berauben . . . nicht durch Zwang und Gewalt, nur durch Bitten und wiederholte Versprechungen kann er sich bewegen." This is also connected with the distinction between the *minoflidi*, freemen of a lower social status without their own land, and the *mediani* of free origin and property, see ibid., 178–185. Also Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 4, 115–121 reckons with physical continuity of the noble. On Anglo-Saxon constitutional history, see at least William Stubbs, *The Constitutional*

the emergence of a state and even allude to the existence of this class at a later time, they refuse to ascribe to it any kind of functional continuity.[460] Both concepts strongly emphasized state and nation as positive values—projecting the dream of a strong national state in the past.

For generations of historians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the problem of continuity between the Přemyslid aristocracy and *duces* of ninth century sources was also of great importance. All these problems were closely connected with general concept of early medieval society and ducal power. Published solutions had been formulated in accordance with Palacký's story or as its critique.[461]

We have to start with the definition of elites and aristocracy, but this very definition of aristocracy must be viewed as a highly contentious issue. In a certain sense, the question may be perceived as one of the keys to the discussion on early medieval elites as such.[462] Although the achievements of prosopographic research are not to be questioned, the definition of the concept of aristocracy must be decisive. It is often argued that questions posed from a modern-day point of view as well as pre-postulated

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History of England in Its Origin and Developement, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880). On the concept of the *Verfassungsgeschichte*, see František Graus, "Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters," *HZ* 243 (1986): 529–589.

[460] Eichhorn, *Deutsche Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 1, 282–286; Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 2, 242: *. . . ihr rechtlicher Vorzug ist verlaufen . . .* The role of the noble class is further weakened by Waitz's contemporary, Paul Roth, who associates its influence exclusively with proximity to the king, conf. Roth, *Geschichte des Benefizialwesens*, 124–127. The author also defined the status of the free by means of their general bond of fidelity to the king, see ibid., 108–113, 127; on duties of the freemen, see ibid., 128–144. At p. 144, Roth explicitly refers to *Ausdehnuhnung der königlichen Gewalt auf alle freyen Einwohner, der wahre Unterthanenverband.* See also Mitteis, *Der Staat des hohen Mittelalters*, 11–12.

[461] Conf. Julius Lippert, *Social-Geschichte Böhmens in vorhussitischer Zeit*, vol. 1, *Die slavische Zeit und ihre gesellschaftlichen Schöpfungen* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1896), 167–180, 171–174, 207–218, 252–253; František Vacek, *Sociální dějiny české doby starší* (Prague: Kotrba, 1905), 37–39, 45–46; Rudolf Koss, *Zur Frage nach der Entstehung und Entwickelung des böhmischen Herrenstandes* (Prague: J.G. Calve, 1920), 19–22, 22–32; Josef Šusta, *Dvě knihy českých dějin: Kus středověké historie našeho kraje.* 2 vols. (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1917), 126–139; Josef Šusta, "Otroctví a velkostatek v Čechách," *ČČH* 5 (1899): 34–43, 86–97, 35; Jan Slavík, *Vznik českého národa: Úvod do českých dějin*, vol. 1, *Národ v době družiné* (Prague: Pokrok, 1946), 35–53, 70–92, 96.

[462] More recently especially František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague: Československá akademie věd, 1965), 200–206. Cf. also Heike Grahn-Hoek, *Die fränkische Oberschicht im 6. Jahrhundert: Studien zu ihrer rechtlichen und politischen Stellung. Sonderband der VuF 21* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1976), 21. Critical objections on the attempts to define social groups legally were formulated by Alice Rio, "Freedom and Unfreedom in Early Medieval Francia: The Evidence of the Legal Formulae," *PaP* 193 (2006): 7–40.

definitions deform the testimony presented by various sources. However, accepting such an argument would mean a complete rejection of our capacity to understand the past. We are unable to approach sources with questions other than those posed from a modern perspective. A loose reading of source materials and reliance on the fact that they themselves, by means of close reading—i.e. in accordance with the intentions of the author of a given text—will provide us with insight into the past, generally results in uninformed usage of specific methods and the acceptance of various premises. On the other hand, staking out a certain point of departure allows us to obtain relatively stable grounds for further investigation as well as allowing future scholars to assess our own starting points. Moreover, in the case that no definition was established, we would run the risk of writing not about aristocracy, but about Middle Latin terms labelling the highest segments of society, only to assign them noble status ultimately *ex post*. This is naturally unacceptable from a methodological point of view.

Let us begin with more broadly defined "elite". Such elite cannot be defined in absolute terms, but only within the context of the community in which it operates. It thus comprises a relative social category, defined by its power status within a community. This work shall proceed from the premise that its existence is to be considered very advantageous for the organisation of human society.[463] In terms of network theory, the emergence of elites may be explained as a varying distribution of power, effectively leading to the emergence of competing centers.[464] Two types of networks are recognized by network theory: exponential networks with regular contact distribution and more flexible, broad-range networks with irregular (contact) distribution, facilitating the creation of multi-contact centers. Recent studies show broad-range networks to be more resistant to errors and thus more stable. Associating elites with network points featuring concentrated communication thus explains the omnipresence of elites—i.e. centers with uneven distribution: they help build more stable social networks. Elite is produced and reproduced through the rituals of

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[463] Albert Réka, Jeong Hawong, and Albert-László Barabási, "Error and Attack Tolerance of Complex Networks," *Nature* 406 (2007): 378–382; Albert-László Barabási et al. "Evolution of social networks of scientific collaboration," *Physica* A 311 (2002): 590–614.

[464] Its leading role within medieval society has been explained in various ways; on possible strategies, see Georges Balandier, *Politická antropologie* (Prague: Dauphin, 2000), 83–179.

power that strengthen its symbolic capital and also from habits that could be inherited as a cultural capital.[465]

Aristocracy, on the other hand, may be defined as the highest stratum of society, whose members have inherited their positions. The aristocracy is likewise perceived as covering this group's generally recognized—and more or less exclusive—right to occupy positions of power or hold office. The two disparate principles of social organisation with respect to elites and aristocracy are not necessarily contradictory: in some societies—in accordance with the above definition—aristocracy represents an almost exclusive reservoir for the selection of elites. Therefore, we can only agree with Thomas Zotz, who asserts that: "we should assign a constitutive role to origin as criterion of rank in the early medieval concept of the elite; moreover, we should not lose sight of it nor deliberately exclude it only because we have already reserved the term "aristocracy" to label a legally confined and hereditary status."[466] That is also one of the reasons why the self-evidences of Cosmas have to be analysed, because they open the way to the imagination of the social structure of twelfth century society in Bohemia and Moravia, they are the means to the rules through which the chronicler reduced the complexity of his social world.[467]

Let us now turn our attention to archaeological sources. Ever since archaeology started profiling itself as a science, there has been an ongoing dispute between archaeologists and historians as to whether it is possible to distinguish the ethnicity or legal status of a population on the basis of archaeological evidence.[468]

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[465] Cf. from the methodological point of view Pierre Bourdieu, *Der Staatsadel* (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2004); Pierre Bourdieu, Der Habitus als Vermittlung zwischen Struktur und Praxis, in P. Bourdieu, *Zur Soziologie der symbolischen Formen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), 125–158 defines habitus as "A system of lasting, transponsable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks tot he analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems," For the development of Bourdieu's concept of habitus cf. Omar Lizardo, "The cognitive origins of Bourdieu's Habitus," Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior 34 (2004), 375–401.

[466] Thomas Zotz, "Adel, Oberschicht, Freie: Zur Terminologie der frühmittelalterlichen Sozialgeschichte," *ZfGORh* 125 (1977): 3–20.

[467] Niklas Luhmann, *Rechtssoziologie I*, 3rd ed. (Opladen: Westdeustcher Verlag, 1987).

[468] On possibilities (and limits) of archaeological methods with regard to ascertaining of social status, see the detailed work Heiko Steuer, *Frühgeschichtliche Sozialstrukturen in Mitteleuropa: Eine Analyse der Auswertungsmethoden des archäologischen Quellenmaterials*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 3.128 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1982).

Only if we remain extremely rigorous may we allege that the wealth of a deceased at the time of death may be established on the basis of the wealth added to the tomb.[469] However, it may indeed be wiser to agree with what Naďa Profantová has to say: "What gives us the chance to monitor archaeologically . . . the change in social structure is the necessity of the elite strata to emphasize their privileged position by means of external symbols. An elite must claim and obtain recognition of its exclusivity from society—all the more so the less stable its position actually is—in order to achieve social acceptance of its determining (or at least prominent) influence."[470]

We know of the rich *Fürstengräber* from ninth-century Bohemia. For example, a grave found near Kolín nad Labem should be mentioned, in which the man was burried with luxurious weapon and jewelry.[471] However, his relationship to one of the hillforts in the neighborhood remains questionable. Certainly the origin of his weapon and jewelry confirms his attempt to identify himself with the lifestyle of Frankish elite, by which he wanted to be acknowledged as its equal. The contacts with the Frankish milieau also confirm the rich woman's grave from Želénky near Teplice (NW Bohemia), who was buried with a golden cross.[472] Indeed, many items added to a tomb are representative of wealth in life, not only by virtue of their design and material, but by virtue of their symbolic function. Zdeněk Smetánka points out grave No. 76 at the Prague Castle in the Lumbe Garden, where a banner was added to a man's grave;[473] spurs or weapons could play a similar role, likewise serving as an indicator or even

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[469] Barbara Sasse, "Völkerwanderungszeitliche und mittelalterliche 'Prunkgräber' aus Mitteleuropa: Gedanken zu Definition und Bedeutung," in *Život v archeologii středověku: Sborník příspěvků věnovaných M. Richterovi a Z. Smetánkovi*, edited by Jana Kubková et al. (Prague: PERES and Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1997), 544–560.

[470] Naďa Profantová, "K průniku prvků franského životního stylu do Čech 9. století: Na základě poznatků archeologie," in *Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem/Großmähren zwischen West und Ost: Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké koference*, edited by Luděk Galuška, Pavel Kouřil, and Zdeněk Měřínský. Spisy ArÚ AV ČR Brno (Brno: Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2001), 327–338, at 327. Profantová's viewpoint is close to the concept of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, which, according to this sociologist, forms the basis of social differentiation and is reflected in behaviour and certain social skills, that is, habitus, see Bourdieu, *Teorie jednání*, 14–16, or Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

[471] Michael Lutovský, *Hroby knížat. Kapitoly z českých dějin a hrobové archeology* (Praha: SetOut, 1997), 113–124.

[472] Ibid., 130–136.

[473] Zdeněk Smetánka, "K sociální interpretaci raněstředověkých hrobů: Hrob H-76 v Lumbeho zahradě-Bažantnici při hradu Praha," in *Na prahu poznání českých dějin: Sborník prací k poctě Jiřího Slámy*, edited by Jan Klápště (Prague: Karolinum, 2006), 157–169.

badge of social status. Not only are items added to the grave of impor-
tance, but the size of the grave itself[474] and whether or not a given person
was buried in a coffin or sarcophagus or in an otherwise altered grave pit,
or in a small cemetery next to others or inside a church[475]—all of this may
provide leads in attempts to envisaging the social status of the deceased.
With some effort on our part, the available data allows for deductions
regarding the attempts of the living at representing and shaping the social
status of the deceased and thus by extension also their own.

Childrens' graves with badges of social status offer even more distinct
testimonies by allowing us to surmise that the parents of a buried child
would consider their position as hereditary, effectively demonstrating it
and re-recreated it via their buried sons and daughters. The idea thus
seems to have been socially acceptable, even though it affords no insight
into a particular case in terms of ascertaining the position of a child and
its parents.[476]

There is no lawbook from Přemyslid Bohemia and Moravia compara-
ble to *Lex Salica*,[477] *Lex Saxonum, Lex Baiuwariorum*, or *Ruskaja Pravda/*

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[474] Barbara Sasse carried out a demanding analysis of archaeological and historical
sources of the Czech lands, see her monograph *Die Sozialstruktur Böhmens in der Früh-
zeit: Historisch-archäologische Untersuchungen zum 9.–12. Jahrhundert*, Berliner historische
Studien 7, Germania Slavica 4 (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1982). On the situation in
the Merovingian realm, see Horst W. Böhme, "Adelsgräber im Frankenreich: Archeologi-
sche Zeugnisse zur Herausbildung einer Herrenschicht unter den merowingischen Köni-
gen," *JbRGZM* 40 (1993, published in 1995): 397–534, or Heiko Steuer, Archäologie und die
Erforschung der germanischen Sozialgeschichte des 5. bis 8. Jahrhunderts, in *Akten des 26.
Deutschen Rechtshistorikerntages*, Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte 30, edited by
D. Simon (Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann, 1987), 443–453, or ead., Archaeology and History:
Proposals to the Social Structure of the Merowingian Kingdom, in *The Birth of Europe:
archaeology and social developement in the first millennium AD*, Analecta Romana Instituti
Danici: Supplementum 16, edited by K. Randsborg (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1989),
100–122.

[475] Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlam, "Bestattungen in den Kirchen Grossmährens und Böh-
mens während des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts," *JbRGZM* 40 (1993, published in 1995): 557–
620.

[476] Cf. Naďa Profantová, "Die Elite im Spiegel der Kindergräber aus dem 9. und 10.
Jahrhundert in Böhmen," in *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des ostlichen Mit-
teleuropas*, edited by Pavel Kouřil. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR v Brně 25 (Brno:
Archäologisches Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik
Brno, 2005), 313–334; Kateřina Tomková, "Die frühmittelalterliche Elite aus der Sicht der
Gräberfelder auf der Prager Burg und ihren Vorfeldern," in *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite
bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas*, edited by Pavel Kouřil. Spisy Archeologického
ústavu AV ČR v Brně 25 (Brno: Archäologisches Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften
der Tschechischen Republik Brno, 2005), 335–352.

[477] *Pactus legis Salicae*, edited by Karl A. Eckhardt, *MGH LL*, Leges nationum Germa-
nicarum 4.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1962). See also Ruth Schmidt–Wiegand, "Sprache, Recht,

Russian Truth used by historians in the nineteenth century as a source for establishing concepts of the social structure of early medieval societies.[478] (After all, not every law book defines aristocratic status legally, as *Lex Saxonum* or Lex *Lex Baiuwariorum* do.[479] Neither the *Pactus legis Salicae*— nor, for example, the *Russian Truth*[480]—acknowledge a special wergild for nobles, there are, on the other hand, collections of early medieval law which further differentiate between freemen.) Decrees—recorded solely in the *Chronica Boëmorum*—and allegedly announced in 1039 by Břetislav I

Rechtssprache bei Franken und Alemannen vom 6.–8. Jahrhundert," in *Leges—Gentes— Regna. Zur Rolle von germanischen Rechtsgewohnheiten und lateinischer Schrifttradition bei der Ausbildung der frühmittelalterlichen Rechtskultur,* edited by Gerhard Dilcher— Eva-Marie Distler (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2006), 141–158; Hans-Werner Goetz, "Gens—Regnum—Lex: das Beispiel der Franken," ibid., 537–542; Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, "Fränkisch druht und druhtin: Zur historischen Terminologie im Bereich der Sozialge- schichte," in *Historische Forschungen für Walter Schlesinger*, edited by Helmut Beumann (Cologne: Böhlau, 1974), 524–535.

[478] On a summarizing view, see Rudolf Buchner, *Die Rechtsquellen*. Beiheft zu Wilhelm Wattenbach and Wilhelm Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Vorzeit und Karolinger* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1953); more recently also Clausdieter Schott, "Der Stand der Leges-Forschung," *FmSt* 13 (1979): 29–55. The role of these *Leges* in the world of early medieval society is a topic of long discussions, see e.g. Patrick Wormald, "Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut," in *Early Medie- val Kingship*, edited by Peter H. Sawyer and Ian N. Wood (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1977), 105–138, who connects their declaration with the efforts of barbarian rulers to imi- tate Roman emperors, with the tendency to the *Imitatio imperii*. Hanna Vollrath, "Geset- zgebung und Schriftlichkeit: Das Beispiel der angelsächsischen Gesetze," *HJb* 99 (1979): 28–54 explains Alfred's collection of laws with his efforts to save them from oblivion instead of an attempt to establish binding norms. Nevertheless, even evidence of know- ledge of law is not lacking, see Wilfried Hartmann, "Rechtskenntnis und Rechtsverständnis bei den Laien des früheren Mittelalters," in *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken: Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Hubert Mordek, Freiburger Beiträge zur mit- telalterlichen Geschichte 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992), 1–20, at 3–6; Harald Siems, "Zu Problemen der Beweitung frühmittelalterlicher Rechtstexte: Zugleich eine Besprechung von R. Kottje, Zum Geltungsbereich der Lex Alamannorum," *ZRG GA* 106 (1989): 291–305. Nevertheless, the issue of "ethnicity" in barbarian codes of law is more complicated, cf. PatrickWormald, "The Leges Barbarorum: Law and Etnicity in the Post-Roman West," in *Regna and gentes: the relationship between late antique and early medieval peoples and king- doms in the transformation of the Roman world*, edited by Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut and Walther Pohl (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 21–53, at 21–42.

[479] *Lex Saxonum*, edited by Karl von Richthofen and Karl Friedrich von Richthofen, *MGH LL*, Leges nationum Germanicarum 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1889), § 16, 54–55; Ibid., 47–84, §14, 52–53: "Qui nobilem occiderit, 1440 solidos conponat;...''; *Lex Baiwariorum*, edited by Ernst von Schwind, *MGH LL*, Leges nationum Germanicarum 5.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1926), 293; Ibid., 3.1, 313; Ibid., 3.1, 312–313; Ibid., 4.29, 334. Cf. Hermann Krause, "Die liberi homines der lex Baiuvariorum," In *Festschrift für Max Spindler zum 75. Geburtstag*, edited by Dieter Albrecht and Andreas Kraus (Munich: Beck, 1969), 41–73.

[480] *Краткая русская правда*, chap. 1. In: http://www.hist.msu.ru/ER/Etext/RP/index .html. Cf. Ferdinand Feldbrugge, "The earliest Law of Russia and its sources," in *The Law`s Beginnings*, edited by Ferdinad Feldbrugge (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 93–113.

(1035–1055) and Bishop Severus-Šebíř (1031–1067) in Gniezno, list the extent of fines.[481] The collection of decrees is not fictional, as proven by the allocated monetary penalties: the basic sum, set at 300 denars, also appears in sources independent of Cosmas. However, the decrees make no mention of the special protection of the "elders". Distinctions between the members of aristocracy and freemen are only to be found in municipal law codified at a relatively late date.[482] Naturally, this does not mean that the aristocracy in early Přemyslid realm cannot be recognized. Even if we accept that the aristocracy is only to be defined by legal sanction that clearly distinguish it from the other strata of society, it is necessary to bear in mind, that law books hardly comprise all law of the society.[483] Because of this, the analysis of narrative sources is of great importance. The way in which elites are described and named in contemporary sources betrays how the world should work according to the chroniclers. Making differences was important not only by creating of "ethnical" boundaries, but also by strengthening the identity of social groups.

Also, the terms for the highest stratum of society in vernacular languages may give us a more accurate picture of the imagination of social world. However, earliest sources in Czech are known from the end of the thirteenth century. Bohumil Vykypěl and—in particular—Josef Macek point out that concepts of "aristocracy" and *Adel* have in Germanic and Slavonic languages many interesting connotations.[484] First and foremost, both terms are associated with origin and family; this link may even be seen as dominant.[485] Semantic analysis also shows that, in more recent times, the term *šlechetný* (i.e. "noble")—which is related to the concept of

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[481] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.4, 86–88.

[482] *Kniha Rožmberská*, edited by Vincenc Brandl, Prague: Jednota právnická, 1872, chap. 124, 68: "Když kto na koho zmluvi rovně na rovni, . . .״; Ibid., chap. 25, 36: "Když komorník přijde k dvoru a pohoně, právo mu vyzvati panošu nebo samého pána . . .״; *Nejvyššího sudího království českého Ondřeje z Dubé Práva zemská česká*, edited by František Čáda. Historický archiv 48 (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1930), chap. 112, 166: "Páni nalezli obecně a Oldřich z Hradce panský potaz vynesl: jestliže by kto druhého nařekl chlapstvem řekl jemu "chlape" . . .״ On the notion of "provincial law", see Gerhard Köbler, "Land und Landrecht im Frühmittelalter," *ZRG* GA 86 (1969): 1–40, who proves that this term appered only in the eleventh century.

[483] Leopold Pospisil, *Ethnology of law* (Menlo Park: Cummings, 1978), 14–51 indicates several approaches facilitating an understanding of law, approaches relying on the study of abstract rules as well as those based on particular verdicts and actual behaviour.

[484] Josef Macek, *Česká středověká šlechta* (Prague: Argo, 1997), 9–25; Bohumil Vykypěl, *Studie k šlechtickým titulům v germánských, slovanských a baltských jazycích: Etymologie jako pomocná věda historická* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2004), 169–170.

[485] Macek, *Česká středověká šlechta*, 9–10, 21; Vykypěl, *Studie k šlechtickým titulům*, 170.

šlechta ("aristocracy")—was used as a synonym for "honourable"; a noble is thus expected to embody the higher moral qualities.[486] On the other hand, the term *pán* ("lord") is apparently derived from *župan* ("district administrator").[487] Due to the fact that early medieval Bohemian sources were written in Latin and Old Church Slavonic, Vykypěl and Macek's conclusions cannot be applied directly. An analysis of Latin terminology is also hindered by the ancient cultural tradition of the language itself.[488]

Let us now in the next step examine indirect evidence presented by narrative sources. Individual terms in Bohemian-Latin and Franco-Latin sources offer interesting insight into the mentality of the relevant communities, all the more so since they are metaphorical, revealing what lies behind individual words.[489] Etymology as well as semantic analysis shall thus enable us to discover contemporary social discourse, i.e. how a particular social group, in this case an elite, defined itself and how it was—in turn—perceived by the contemporary historiography and its authors.[490] This comparison, indeed, faces one practical problem—whereas the early medieval inhabited area of present-day Bohemia and Moravia was easy to observe and its size can be estimated at less than 20 000 km², the Frankish empire encompassed the area of several hundreds of thousands km². Therefore, in these two cases, the establishment of common identity was

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[486] Macek, *Česká středověká šlechta*, 13–14, 17–18. On the basis of an analysis of Notker's *Gesta*, Hans-Werner Goetz also shows that the noble were considered as predestined to greater achievements and more virtuous life, see Hans–Werner Goetz, " 'Nobilis': Der Adel im Selbstverständnis der Karolingerzeit," *VSWG* 70 (1983): 153–191, at 167–169, 183–188; *Notkeri Balbuli Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, edited by Hans F. Haefele, *MGH* SRG N.S. 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959), 3.1, 4–5: "Vos nobiles primorum filii, vos delicati et formosuli, in natales vestros et possesiones confisi, mandatum meum et glorificationem vestram postponentes, litterarum studiis neglectis, luxuriẹ ludo et inerciẹ vel inanibus exercitiis indulsistis . . . Per regem celorum! Non ego magni pendo nobilitatem et pulchritudinem vestram, licet alii vos admirentur; et hoc procul dubio scitote, quia, nisi cito priorem neglegentiam vigilanti studio recuperavitis, apud Karolum nihil unquam boni acquiritis."; On the steadiness of the notion noblenessin the course of the Middle Ages, see Jane Martindale, "French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal," *PaP* 75 (1977): 5–45.

[487] Macek, *Česká středověká šlechta*, 26–49; Vykypěl, *Studie k šlechtickým titulům*, 133–166.

[488] On the issue of translation, see Philipp Heck, *Übersetzungsprobleme im frühen Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1931); Walter Stach, "Wort und Bedeutung im mittelalterlichen Latein," *DA* 9 (1952): 332–352; Hans Hattenhauer, "Zum Übersetzungsproblem im hohen Mittelalter," *ZRG GA* 81 (1964): 341–358.

[489] The term "metaphor" is used in the same broad sense as in George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[490] Thus the terms can be regarded as *Überreste* in Bernheim's sense.

a process of substantially different complexity. Moreover, it is essential to bear in mind that the value of the following comparisons of source evidence from the Přemyslid and Merovingian periods is also diminished due to one significant factor: the analysed works, particularly those by Cosmas of Prague and Gregory of Tours, were each available to a very different number of potential readers.[491] It is therefore likely that, while Cosmas of Prague was influenced by the scholarly discourse of Latin culture to a far greater extent, the scope of readers and listeners with the necessary language skills to access the work of Gregory of Tours was much broader. This factor may be of some significance, especially as far as tracing individual words and statements goes.

Cosmas of Prague was taught in Liége and became a canon in St.-Vitus-Cathedral in Prague Castle.[492] In his fifties, he was ordained a priest and before 1110 he was promoted dean of St.-Vitus-Chapter. He belonged to one of the clerical families that inherited important positions in Bohemian and Moravian church structures—e.g. Cosmas's son Jindřich was also member of cathedral chapter; similarly to Cosmas, Jindřich Zdík, bishop of Olomouc (1126–1150), was brother of another canon of Prague chapter Magnus and uncle of Daniel I (1148–1167), bishop of Prague, and Alexander, canon of Vyšehrad chapter in Prague.[493] For a long time, his chronicle was the only attempt to formulate a history of Bohemians from their mythical beginnings until Cosmas's present days. As such, it survived in many manuscripts and found two continuators in the twelfth century. However, we still do not know much about its audience.

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[491] On the transformation of the form of reflecting "reality" in literature from Antiquity until today, see Erich Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke, 1958). Numerous examples of Carolingian-period attempts to improve—stylistically as well as grammatically—Merovigian hagiographical texts show to what extent these texts were influenced by the limitation of their readership to communities of monks, see Katrien Heene, "Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography: Continuity or Change in Public and Aims," *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989): 415–428.

[492] About Cosmas, see introduction in new English translation of this chronicle by Lisa Wolverton, *The Chronicle of the Czechs* (Catholic Univ of Amer Press, 2009), 3–17; see also Alheydis Plassmann, *Origo gentis. Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen. Orbis mediaevalis*, Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 7 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 321–358. Dušan Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika: Studie k počátkům českého politického myšlení* (Praha: Academia 1968) is still the best monograph about this chronicler and his work.

[493] About these families and their importance in 11th and 12th century history of Czech lands cf. Zdeněk Fiala, "Jindřich Zdík a Kosmas. O původu Jindřicha Zdíka," *Zápisky z dějin československých dějin a archivního studia* 2 (1963): 7–19.

Authors of Old Church Slavonic texts written in the ninth and tenth centuries emphasize the wealth of elite.[494] They also speak of important persons as the "great" or "old" ones,[495] or mention their relationship to the prince.[496] The same terms are used in part by Cosmas, although his chronicle is written in Latin. He too emphasizes the members of the elite as the persons of respectable age, even though he does it only in one place.[497] It should not be forgotten that Cosmas remarks on the property of elites only once when he describes the members of the elite as loyal, brave and powerful warriors of respectable wealth, who should be rewarded for their support to the prince by being given castles and people to be ruled by them.[498] When Cosmas speaks about the elites of Přemyslid

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[494] *Žitije Mefodija*, edited by Radoslav Večerka, *MMFH* 2 (Brno: Universita J.E. Purkyně, 1967), chap. 11, 156: "Eterъ drugъ, bogatъ zělo i sъvětъnikъ . . ."; *První staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu: Text Vostokovský*, edited by J. Vajs, in *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Lidmile*, edited by J. Vajs (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1929), 15: ". . . l'udi vsę ubogiję i bogatyję milovaše . . .; *Druhá staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu*, edited by Josef Vašica, in *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek*, 91: ". . . ur'ędi v l'udech pravyj zákon kako chudym kako li bogatym . . .". About old church slavonic sources from Bohemia and Moravia cf. in charter II.3–4 of this book. For complete evidence of Great Moravian sources see Lubomír Havlík, "Moravská společnost a stát v 9. století, 1: Moravská společnost, její struktura a organizace v 9. století," SlA 27 (1980, published in 1981): 1–42. Cf. also the analysis of tenth-century monuments from Saxony in Roman Michałowski, "Świadomość społeczna saskiej grupy sządzącej w wiekach X–XI.: 'Nobilis', 'dives', 'pauper'; problem analyzi semantycznej," StŹr 19 (1974) 13–28.

[495] See *Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ*, edited by Josef Vašica and Karel Haderka, MMFH 4 (Brno: Universita J.E. Purkyně, 1971), chap. 3, 180: ". . . v ravъnouju čast razděliti, velikago i malago. Dovlějetь bo županomъ knjaža častь i pribytъkъ obroku ljudckomu imъ. Aže li obražjotъсě jeteri ot těchъ dьrьznuvše, ili kъmeti, ili prostьičhъ ljudi, . . ."; *Žitije Mefodija*, chap. 11, 156: Eterъ drugъ, bogatъ zělo i sъvětъnikъ . . .; This short law book is assumed to be written in Great Moravia (9th c.). Although there is no evidence of his use in early medieval Moravia and Bohemia, his terminology could be useful for analysis of social discourse.

[496] *Zakonъ sudnyi ljudьmъ*, chap. 3, 180: ". . . županomъ knjaža . . ."

[497] *Cosmae Chronica* 3.15, 178: "Quorum succenderat animum ad belli studium, promittens eis aureos montes et pollicitans suos esse fautores omnes Boemie natu maiores. . . . Qui postquam animadverterunt unanimem esse cum duce Borivoy constantiam Boemorum, inquiunt Odalrico: Ubi sunt illi Boemie natu maiores, quos dicebas tuos esse fautores? Recte mentitus es in caput tuum et nos decepisti atque in magnum deduxisti periculum. The most often quoted source, the Chronicon Bohemorum, was written only in the early twelfth century by Cosmas, the dean of St Vitus chapter".

[498] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.42, 80: "Et iterum Iaromir ad populum: Accedant, inquit, de gente Muncia! accedant de gente Tepca! et vocat eos nominatim, quos norat armis potentiores, fide meliores, milicia fortiores et divitiis eminentiores. . . . Te autem, fili, moneo et repetens iterum iterumque monebo, istos colas ut patres, hos diligas ut fratres et in omnibus negociis tibi consiliarios habeas. His urbes et populum ad regendum committas, per hos enim Boemie regnum stat et stetit atque stabit in sempiternum".

Bohemia and Moravia, he also uses more than once the title *comes*.[499] Of great importance is in his chronicle the relationship of elites to ruler[500] or country.[501] The "big" are then portrayed as being in opposition to "small"[502] and "noble" in opposition to "free".[503] However, Cosmas of Prague most frequently depicts these *optimates* as someone's sons or grandsons.[504]

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[499] Cosmae Chronica 2.4, 86: "... duci et eius comitibus ..."; Ibid., 2.11, 98: "Item relatum est duci Bracizlao de Prikos comite, qui prefuit Belin in urbe ..."; Ibid., 2.39, 143: "... Alexius comes ..." Ibid., 3.28, 197: "... Fabianus comes, qui habuit in urbe Wissegrad prefecturam ..."; Ibid., 3.30, 199–200: "... Wacek comes ..."; Ibid., 3.37, 209: "... satagente et episcopo Hermanno mediante atque Wacek palatino comite ..."; Ibid., 3.39, 211: "... dux Wladizlaus, vellet eum capere, id suggerente et consiliante contra eum Wacek comite. Quibus ille respondit: Aut ego moriar aut, qui talia molitur, prius morietur quam ego capiar.... Tunc Zobezlau mittens rogat Wacek comitem, quo per viam simul gradientes sermocinarentur ad invicem. Quo facto parum per viam sermone communicato ex utroque latere atque post tergum Wacek comiti incauto et innocenti Rumpunt fatifero precordia vulnere terno Mense quater denas Quintili intrante kalendas."; Ibid., 3.50, 223: "Eodem anno mense Marcio comes Bznata de Hierosolimis simul et de Galacia rediit et eiusdem anni XVII. kal. Novembris obiit". Possible translation of this term will be discussed later.

[500] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.25, 47: "... dux Bolezlaus et eius optimates ..."; Ibid., 3.23, 190–192: "Non ocius evolant venti, quando rex eorum Eolus perforat cuspide latera montis, sub quo inclusi tenentur, quam proceres Wacula, Hermannus, Kyrassa et alii quam plurimi insiliunt equos et volant prepeti cursu in fata Bosey et filii eius; ceteri per terram discurrunt et investigant, ut totam gentem illam de medio tollant".

[501] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.23, 44: "... dux clerum, primates terrae et populum convocat ..."; Ibid., 3.23, 190–192: "Adhuc etiam atque etiam audite, o mei proceres, quid filius iniquitatis et caput tocius impietatis fecerit iste Mutina, quem ego nuper, cum vobiscum irem in expeditionem, post me secundum reliqui huius terre presidem et preceptorem."; Ibid., 3.34, 204–205: "... generalis sinodus cunctis principibus terre Boemoru ..."

[502] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.14, 104: "Post cuius obitum filium eius primogenitum nomine Zpitignev omnes Boemice gentis, magni et parvi, communi consilio et voluntate pari eligunt sibi in ducem cantantes kyrieleyson, cantilenam dulcem. Erat enim vir valde speciosus, cesarie pice nigrior atra, barba prolixa, facie leta, gene eius candidiores nive et parum rubentes per medium. Quid plura?"; Ibid., 3.20, 185: "Multi autem ex comitibus, quos ipse Borivoy de proselitis fecerat comites, comitantur eum et secum in Poloniam proficiscuntur".

[503] Ibid., 1.34, 62–63: "Servo autem Douore, omni laude digno ducis amico, talis gratia redditur pro merito. Nam voce preconica indicitur ubique per fora, ut quam ipse Douora tam eius proles postera sit inter nobiles et ingenuos in eternum et ultra. Insuper dant ei et dignitatem venatoriam, que pertinet ad curtem Stbecnam, quam ex tunc et usque modo per generationes eius possident nepotes".

[504] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.19, 111: "Ablata est tibi urbis prefectura et data est Koyate, filio Wseboris; qui tunc temporis primus erat in palatio ducis."; Ibid., 2.35, 133: "Hac in cede occisi sunt Ztan cum fratre Radim et Gridon, filius Zanek, et Dobrogost, filius Hines, et alii non adeo multi anno dominice incarnationis MLXXXII, IV. id. Mai."; Ibid., 2.40, 144: "Quidam miles erat, qui Beneda nomen habebat, magnanimus iuvenis prestanti corpore talis, Hector erat qualis pulcher vel Turnus in armis, ex Iurata natus, cui primus Taz fuit avus. Nescio qua de re tunc offenso quoque rege Wratizlao fugiens in Poloniam factus est miles domne Iudithe ..."; Ibid., 3.4, 165: "... Mutinam filium Bosa, suum collateralem et secretarium ... Bosey, filium Cac, cognatum Mutine ..."; Ibid., 3.12, 172: "... Paulik, filius Marquardi, pedagogus Wladizlai, sagittatus ... Dobes, filius Lztimir ..."; Ibid., 3.15, 177: "... valde disertum virum, Neusse nomine, filium Dobremil ..."; Ibid., 3.19, 184–185:

(The elites are addressed in the same way in the oldest charters and in *Legenda Christiani*, although we can mention some terminological specifics of this kind of evidence).[505]

However, the very same characteristics are to be found in earlier Frankish sources: Thomas Zotz shows that Gregory of Tours also considers origin to be an important category.[506] Building on Zotz's work, Margarete Weidemann distinguishes two types of designation relevant to the upper social class: one referring to general qualities and drawing attention to their proximity to the sovereign, the second a matter of origin.[507] Merovingian sources also list some as "first" in the kingdom,[508] close to the

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"...Budivoy, filius Hren...et palam miserat pro Zuatoplik in Moraviam Willehalmi fratrem, nomine Pulonem."; Ibid., 3.27, 195–197: "...missus a Iohanne filio Csta de gente Wrissovici...Quem ilico rex collaudat, et populus insipiens per castra ter Kyrieleison clamat. Nec mora, paucis scientibus filius Busa nomine Detrisek currit curriculo atque quarta die summo diluculo adducit Pragam Ottonem, quem Wacek et universi, qui erant de Moravia, satagebant principalis sedis provehere ad fastigia."; Ibid., 3.31, 201: "...Detrisek, filius Busa..."; Ibid., 3.32, 203: "...Iohannes, filius Csta, de gente Wrisovic..."; Ibid., 3.36, 208–209: "...Detrisek, filius Busa..."; Ibid., 3.54, 227: "Anno dominice incarnationis MCXXIIII. II. id. Februarii Hermannus, frater Willehalmi, et Lutobor, filius Martini, perrexerunt Hierosolimam".

[505] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 80, 85–87: "...obtestamur omnes nostros successores vel terrae primates et universum populum..."; *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 91, 98–99: "...Qui rex, ut prudens homo, precavens in futurum, ne quis emulus prosperitate habita hec perverteret, Iaromiro, suo fratri, tunc temporis Pragensi episcopo id iniunxit, ut astantibus primatibus Bohemorum nec non et omni plebe eternali vinculo omnes malivolos et destructores ecclesiastice utilitatis innecteret et cum Juda traditore eterno igne puniendos diabolo commiteret..."; *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 37, 43: "...dux Bolezlaus presentibus omnibus primatibus suis..."; *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 40, 47: "...Boleslao...coram primatibus suis commendavit et eum abbatem vocari et esse precepit..."; *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 110, 111: "...Wenceslaus...cum omni clero atque primatibus suis...dedit..."; *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 5, 44: "Divisique sunt consiliarii in invicem et primates terre, discordiarumque inter eos spine pullulaverunt ad sanguinis usque effusionem". See also papal charter for Moravian prince Svatopluk I, *CDSl* vol. 1, no. 30, 23: "...cum nobilibus viris fidelibus tuis et cum omni populo terrę tuę..."

[506] Zotz, "Adel, Oberschicht, Freie," 13–18. Similarly in Isidore of Seville. On the chronicle of Gregory of Tours, see at least Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours, 538–594: Zehn Bücher Geschichte; Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt: Wisenschafliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).

[507] Margarete Weidemann, "Adel im Merowingerreich: Untersuchungen zu seiner Rechtsstellung," *JbRGZM* 45 (1993): 535–555, at 539.

[508] *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Historiarum libri X*, edited by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, *MGH* SRM 1.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1937–1951), 4.6, 139: "Rex vero parvulus est, et si qua tibi adscribitur culpa, nos suscipientes te sub defensione nostra, cum proceribus et primis regni Theodovaldi regis agemus, ne tibi ulla excitetur iniuria."; Ibid., 7.7, 330: "...prioribus de regno Chilperici..."; Ibid., 7.36, 358: "Veni, quia ab omnibus regni regis Childeberthi principibus invitaris, nec quisquam contra te mutire ausus est."; Ibid., 8.9, 376: "...Fredegundus regina, coniunctis prioribus regni sui, id est tribus episcopis et trecentis viris optimis, sacramenta dederunt..."; Ibid., 8.29, 392: "Mercis quoque operis vestri haec erit, ut, si mortui in hoc opere fueritis, parentibus vestris bona tribuam, ipsosque

king,[509] or simply as "first",[510] "mighty",[511] "better",[512] or even the "best",[513] or "elder".[514] Gregory likewise perceives the category of origin as an important one.[515] However, it is Venantius who emphasizes this aspect even more,[516]

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muneribus ditans primus in regnum meum constituam."; Ibid., 9.9, 421: "Post haec Rauchigus coniunctus cum prioribus regni Chlotharii . . ."

[509] Ibid., 5.32, 237: ". . . maiores natu et primi apud Chilpericum regem . . ."; Ibid., 6.3, 267: "Egidius Remensis episcopus cum primis Childeberthi proceribus in legationem ad Chilpericum regem venit; . . ."; Ibid., 6.24, 292: "At ille epistolam, ut aiunt, manu maiorum Childeberthi regis subscriptam protulit, dicens: ‚Nihil per me feci, nisi quae a domnis nostris et senioribus imperata sunt.' "; Ibid., 5.17, 216: "Proceris vero Childeberthi similiter pro eodem polliciti sunt".

[510] Ibid., 7.26, 345: "Post haec Ecolosinam accessit, susceptaque sacramenta muneratisque prioribus, Petrocoricum adgreditur."; Ibid., 8.21, 387–388: "Ibique Brunichildis regina . . . omnibus prioribus questa est, sed parum consolationem promeruit . . ."

[511] Ibid., 7.19, 338: "Cum autem magnus clamor fierit adversus eos qui potentes cum rege fuerant Chilperico, scilicet quod abstulissent vel villas vel reliquas de rebus alienis, omnia, quae iniuste ablata fuerant, rex reddi praecepit, sicut iam superius indecatum est".

[512] Ibid., 6.45, 318: ". . . Chilpericus rex . . . convocatis melioribus Francis . . ."; *Decretio Childeberti*, 3.102, §2, in: *MGH* LL nationum Germ. IV. 1, edited by Karl A. Eckhardt (Hahn: Hannover, 1962), 259: "Tunc uicini illi, quibus nuntiatur a iudice, ante XL noctes, qui meliores sunt, cum sexaginos quinos <iurator(e)s> se exeunt, quod nec occidissent nec sciant, qui occidissent; minoflidis uero <uicini> quinos denos iuratores donent . . ."

[513] *Gregorii Historiarum libri X*, 8.2, 371: "Discussi enim ante paululum fuerant a reliquis episcopis et optimatibus regis, cur Gundovaldum suscepissent . . ."; *Edictus Chilperici*, 4.106; Ibid., 261: "Pertractantes in Dei nomine cum uiris magnificentissimis obtimatibus uel antrustionibus et omni populo nostro conuenit, quia fluuium Caronna hereditas non transiebat, ubi et ubi in regione nostra hereditas detur, sicut et reliqua loca ut et Turrouaninsis hereditatem dare debent et accipere".

[514] *Gregorii Historiarum libri X*, 4.27, 160: "Ille vero (rex), congregatus senioribus secum, praeparatis aepulis, cum inminsa laetitia atque iocunditate eam accepit uxorem."; Ibid., 8.21, 388: ". . . senioris urbis cum duci . . ."; Ibid., 7.33, 353: "Adserebat etiam constanter, hanc causam, sicut iam supra diximus, omnibus senioribus in regno Childeberthi regis esse cognitam."; *Pactus pro tenore pacis: Prologus*, edited by Karl A. Eckhardt, *MGH* LL, Leges nationum Germanicarum 4.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1962), 250: "Id ergo decretum est <apud nos maioresque natus Francorum palacii procerum>, ut apud quemcumque post interdictm latrocinium conprobatur, uitae incurrat periculum".

[515] *Gregorii Historiarum libri X*, 5.32, 237: ". . . maiores natu et primi apud Chilpericum regem . . ."; Ibid., 339: ". . . quae iniusta ablata fuerat, rex reddi praecepit, . . . Fredegundem quoque reginam ad villam Rodoialensim . . . abire praecepit. Secuti sunt eam meliores natu regni Chilperici regis".

[516] *Venantii Honori Clementiani Fortunati carminum epistolarum expositionum Libri undecim*, edited by Friedrich Leo, *MGH* AA 4.1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), 2.8, 37: "Launebodis enim post saecula longa, ducatum cum gerit, instruxit culmina sancti loci, quod nullus veniens Romana gente fabrivit, hoc vir barbarica prole pergit opus coniuge cum propria Berethrude, clara decore pectore quae blando clarior ipsa nitet, cui genus egregium fulget de stirpe potentum, addidit ornatum vir venerando genum . . ."; Ibid., 4.26, 95: ". . . sanguine nobilium generata Parisius urbe Romana studio, barbara prole fuit . . ."

stressing the importance of origin even in the case of people whom Gregory characterizes in terms of general virtues and deeds.[517]

Analysis of terminology in Cosma's chronicle confirms the importance of origin and relationship to ruler as the most frequently used signs of the early Přemyslid elite. Indeed, the importance of kinship and—simultaneously—the emphasis placed on the elites' proximity to the prince shows that Cosmas of Prague viewed the two categories as complementary. The evidence of charters supports this hypothesis, although the elites are known from the oldest charters as the "first men of the realm" or the "first men of the prince" only. The difference between Cosmas's terminology and diplomatic evidence is to be understood as the divergence between the voice of the representative of elites, Cosmas, and the anonymous clerics the representative of ruler, who through the consens-formula constructed the consent between the prince and "his" aristocracy. Although according to Cosmas the elite has to be wealthy, its land property does not primarily define its position in early medieval Bohemian and Moravian society.

The existence of a social component in the Czech lands of which *comites* were to be selected is confirmed by Cosmas of Prague distancing himself from Vacek, one "born under the grindstone".[518] Symptomatic is also the contrast between "big" and "small" men,[519] or between the "nobles" and the "freemen",[520] that articulated the boundary between these social groups and thus created these groups of people as groups. Nevertheless, the case of Vacek and likewise of Dovora, a princely "serf", shows that the boundaries between social groups were not absolute: as a reward for helping the prince, Dovora and his future offspring were in fact proclaimed "free and noble".[521] Both above mentioned cases demonstrate that even if the aristocracy in early medieval Bohemia preferred offsprings of well born

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[517] Ibid., 9.16, 219: "... clarus ab antiquis, digno generosior ortu, regibus et patriae qui placiturus eras ..." Cf. *Gregorii Historiarum libri X*, 6.20, 288: "Eo anno Chrodinus obiit, vir magnifice bonitatis et pietatis, aelimosinarius valde pauperumque refector, profluus ditatur eclesiarum, clericorum nutritur".

[518] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.35, 63: "... Wacek sub mola rusticana natus ..."

[519] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.14, 104; ibid., 3.20, 185.

[520] Ibid., 1.34, 62–63.

[521] Ibid., 1.34, 62: "Servo autem Douore, omni laude digno ducis amico, talis gratia redditur pro merito. Nam voce preconica indicitur ubique per fora, ut quam ipse Douora tam eius proles posteritas inter nobiles et ingenuos in eternum et ultra."; It is by far the earliest mention of the nobilitation by the duke. On evidence of advancement of "helfers" into the highest aristocracy, see Bouchard, "The Origins," 508–524.

men, the boundaries between the social groups were breakable. Medieval aristocracy (and medieval society) has always comprised a dynamic system, concealing variability under an assumed guise of stability and immutability. It was the imagination of the aristocracy in contemporary discourse that gave it its stability and consistence as a social group.

From the tenth and eleventh centuries we only know by name the influential Vršovci kindred (together with the Munici and Těptici clans, mentioned only once by Cosmas).[522] They were probably related to the Přemyslids as we know from Thietmar's Chronicle that Boleslav III murdered his son-in-law in the same year Vršovci had been massacred.[523] For the twelfth century, thanks to the obituaries, our evidence becomes more numerous.[524] We are also able to follow a few lineagies that survived the waves of princely disgrace until thirteenth century and transformed into the high medieval noble families, with large estates and numerous castles.[525] Eleventh- and twelfth-century sources mention not only the members of aristocracy, but also *milites secundi ordinis*.[526] These men were the backbone of Přemyslid armies and they can also be identified with *rustici*, who strongly supported Soběslav II (1173–1178).[527]

Cosmas's notion of the nature of princely power is evident from the speech which he has Libuše, the princess-oracle, utter when asked to find a prince for the Bohemians. Libuše mocks their reckless attempts at depriving themselves of freedom and warns them against making the deci-

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[522] Petr Kopal, "Kosmovi ďáblové. Vršovsko-přemyslovský antagonismus ve světle biblických a legendárních citátů, motivů a symbolů," *MHB* 8 (2001), 7–40; Petr Kopal, "Neznámý známý rod. Pokus o genealogii Vršovců," *SAP* 51 (2001): 3–84.

[523] Cf. *Thietmari Chronicon* 2.29 (18), 253–255: "Enimvero cum Bolislaus Boemensis cerneret populum suum execrando ritui deditum, in maxima securitate constitutum, impietatem suam ad confringenda federa pacis, quam sacramentis firmaverat, intantum armavit, ut, collectis in unam domum coram se cunctis optimatibus, prio generum suum gladio in caput eius merso ipse occideret ceterosque inermes in ipsa sancta quadragesima, vir sanguinum et dolosus nec sibi concessos umquam dignus dimidiare dies, cum sue malicie fautores interficeret."; *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum* 1.37, 68: "Hic interfecti sunt Wrissovici".

[524] Josef Žemlička, " 'Dvacet pánů' české země: K vymezení panujícího rodu v 11. a 12. století," *ČMM* 117 (1998): 293–309.

[525] Josef Žemlička, "K počátkům rozrodu Hrabišiců," *FHB* 13 (1990): 7–41; ead. "Origins of Noble Landed Property in Přemyslide Bohemia," in *Nobilities in Central and Eastern Europe: Kinship, Property and Privilege*, edited by János M. Bak (Hajnal István Alapítváry: Budapest, 1994), 7–24.

[526] The same model could be found in Anglo-Saxon England, cf. Richard Abels, "Household men, mercenaries and vikings in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Mercenaries and Paid Men. The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages*, edited by John France (Brill: Leiden – Boston, 2008), 143–165.

[527] Zdeněk Fiala, "Princeps rusticorum," *Zápisky z dějin československých dějin a archivního studia* 5 (1961): 31–42.

sion. She compares them to frogs who choose a stork as their king.[528] She warns them that unseating a chosen prince would be very difficult, and as well shows them what impact princely reign would likely have: the monarch would command them, would be given power over their wealth and status, and they would be too afraid to repeat anything but "Yes, my Lord, yes."[529] Paradoxically, Libuše's characterisation of princely power therefore seems to have much in common with Cosmas's concept of tyranny.

A story regarding the origins of castle Stará Boleslav provides some insight into Cosmas's notion of the relationship between the prince and the Bohemians. In it, the chronicler indirectly provides a characteristic of Boleslav I, portraying him as a tyrant.[530] His cruelty even included deeds of violence committed on magnates. ". . . And later, filled with regret, they fell to the prince's knees and, teary-eyed, begged his forgiveness", writes Cosmas of the terrified magnates, immediately after the young Boleslav

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[528] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.5, 14: "O plebs miseranda nimis, que libera vivere nescit, et quam nemo bonus nisi cum vita amitit, illam vos non obviti libertatem fugitis et insuete servituti colla sponte submittitis. Heu tarde frustra vos penitebit, sicut ranas penituit, cum ydrus, quem sibi fecerant regem, eas necare cepit."; See also Třeštík, "K sociální struktuře," 537–544. Nevertheless, Třeštík's attempt to interpret this passage by means of Cosmas' alleged inspiration by a collection of the forgeries of Ravenna, which advocate monarchic power through the natural law theory, does not seem convincing.

[529] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.5, 14: "Aut si nescitis, que sint iura ducis, temtabo vobis ea verbis dicere paucis. Imprimis facile est ducem ponere, sed dificille positum deponere; nam qui modo est vestra potestate, utrum eum constituatis ducem an non, postquam vero constitutum ferit, vos et omnia vestra grunt eius in potestate. Humus in conspectu vestra febricitabunt genua, et muta sico palato adherebit lingua. Ad cuius vocem pro nimio pavore vix respondebitis: "Ita domine, ita domine", cum ipse solo suo nutu sine vestro preiudicio hunc dampnabit et hunc obtruncat, istum in karcerem mitti, illum precipiet in patibulo suspendi. Vos ipsos et ex vobis, quos sibi libet, alios servos, alios rusticos, alios tributarios, . . . faciet. Constituet etiam sibi tribunos . . . Filios vestros et filias in obsequiis ponet; et bubus etiam et equis sive equabus seu pecoribus vestris optima queque ad suum placitum tollet. Omnia vestra, que sunt potiora, in villis, in campis . . . auferet et in usus suos rediget".

[530] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.17, 36; ibid., 1.19, 38. Convincingly on the image of the tyrant in Cosmas' work, see Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 134 a 149. This story is also indirectly reflected in the idea of Boleslav' reign as a period of great changes, most recently see Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 530–935*, 437, or Josef Žemlička, "Te ducem, te iudicem, te rectorem: Sněmovní shromáždění v časně středověkých Čechách; Kontinuita či diskontinuita?," *ČČH* 91 (1993): 369–384, at 374–376; see also Josef Šusta, "Otroctví a velkostatek," 39. Gregory of Tours mentions a similar story in the second book of his chronicle. He describes the despoiling of a church, whose bishop subsequently asked Clovis to at least return a valuable pitcher, see *Gregorii Historiarum libri X*, 2.27, 72–73 and ibid., 2.31, 77. However Clovis slyness was not to be considered perfidiousness but rather the craftiness of the king David, conf. Phillip Wynn, "Wars and Warriors in Gregory of Tours' Histories, 1–4," *Francia* 28 (2001): 1–35.

slaughtered one who had defied his orders.[531] The foremen were reputedly unwilling to approve of the construction of the—sight unseen—castle "built of stone according to the Roman manner" and the ruthless prince allegedly went on to behead their rebellious leader. The magnates subsequently fell to their knees before the prince, repentant and weeping.[532] Cosmas's notion of a good prince comprises a ruler who listens to his faithful and who owe him "loyalty"—*fidelitas* in return, not "servitude"—*servitus*.[533]

Though the two stories about Boleslav and Clovis end quite differently, they have one thing in common: they both link the building of princely power and its enforcement with violence and the reign of a single prince. It is equally remarkable to what extent these narratives, designed to celebrate a new Constantine—or condemn a second Cain, respectively—influenced historians, who then went about constructing a radical turnabout with their aid. It seems as if the trend they represent was rooted in the doctrinal literature of both Antiquity and the Middle Ages—literature which always associated a given act of civilization with a particular person. Given the considerable time lapse separating the two authors from the events described and taking into account both chroniclers' objectives, the narratives cannot be accepted as evidence of the two princes' behaviour. However, they do provide one of the many appropriate testimonies to the construction of discontinuity in the Middle Ages and illustrate the potential of using identical motives for the depiction of positive as well as negative heroes. This confirms the need to examine such stories not only with respect to the relevant motivational elements, but with regard to the overall context of a given work.

Its not difficult to understand the importance of Cosmas's stories about good rulers and evil ones. Every early medieval ruler, even the "tyrant" Boleslav, relied on people, to whom he had to delegate power. He also had to solve the problem of how to secure the fidelity of his men. Even

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[531] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.19, 39: ". . . sero penitentia ducti ceciderunt ad genua ducis veniam cum lacrimis . . ."

[532] Ibid., 1.19, 39. Most recently on Boleslav' fortification and circumstances of its construction, see Boháčová, "Topografie a základní horizonty vývoje," 459–470.

[533] Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 162–165. However, the same relationship between the lord and his men is omnipresent in medieval sources, for eleventh-century Aquitaine see George T. Beech, "The Lord/Dependant (Vasal) Relationship: A Case Study from Aquitaine c. 1030," *JMedH* 24 (1998): 1–31, or between the king and his magnates in the (Holy) Roman Empire, or even within retinues, cf. Schmidt – Wiegand, "Fränkisch druht und druhtin," 526–527.

as the chief of a small retinue, who spent all his time with his men, who were presented with pretious arms, horses and jewels, he could have been betrayed. However, loyalty is a necessary condition of every stable social organisation.[534] Also in the more developed societies, with more complex power structures, loyalty remained one of the most important factors. Its presence enabled the lord and his men to trust each other. Through it, social complexity was reduced and society could easily function.[535] There is no surprise that betrayal and revenge are some of the favourite motives in early medieval legends about holy rulers or vernacular poems about great heroes of ancient times. The widespread of these motives in early medieval literature only confirm their importance. The precious gifts mentioned above were "tools" through which the social bonds, e.g. loyalty, had been strengthened horizontally and vertically.[536] The research done on late Roman and early medieval "barbarian" populations highlighted the importance of movables, i.e. jewelry, horses, or weapons, in defining and creating the status of elites.[537] In these societies, the redistribution of riches created the chieftains' power. Even in more complex societies, the flow of the gifts could not stop without danger—the case of king Berengar is good proof of this statement.[538]

Although early medieval lords and their retinues spent much time riding their horses from one castle to another, no one was able to rule only from the saddle.[539] Despite the fact that no stable administrative networks

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[534] Luhmann, *Rechtssoziologie*.

[535] Niklas Luhmann, *Trust and Power* (Chichester: Wiley, 1979).

[536] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies* (London: Routledge, 1990); with critical remarks Maurice Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999).

[537] Matthias Hardt, *Gold und Herrschaft. Die Schätze europäischer Könige und Fürsten im ersten Jahrtausend. Europa im Mittelalter. Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik 6* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004). To the same conclusions led the analysis of medieval society in Island or in Merovingian and Carolingian empire, where gift was presented as a complex tool of politics, cf. William Ian Miller, "*Gift, Sale, Payment, Raid:* Case Studies in the Negotiation and Classification of Exchange in Medieval Iceland," *Speculum* 61 (1986): 18–50; Florin Curta, "Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving," Speculum 81 (2006): 671–699.

[538] Barbara H. Rosenwein, "The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy, 888–924," *Speculum* 71 (1996): 247–289. The sons of the former companions of William the Conqueror who owed nearly everything they had to the king also raised the rebellion against his son, cf. Hollister, "Magnates and 'Curiales'," 63–81.

[539] About the focusing of Ottonians on Eastern Saxony, cf. excellent monograph Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Die Reichsstruktur im Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Grossen: Mit historiographischen Prolegomena zur Frage Feudalstaat auf deutschem Boden, seit wann deutscher Feudalstaat?* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1980).

were established in early medieval kingdoms,[540] the lord had to use his agents with whom he ruled.[541] Theoretically, the king's right to choose his own collaborators was never challenged in principle. Moreover, efforts to force him into general concessions show respect for his prerogatives, and we only seldom encounter such an unambiguous resolution as the Parisian electoral capitulation of Chlotar II in 614, which resulted in the king's acceptance of the territoriality principle.[542]

However, every ruler had to stand up to two challenges. An early medieval king was mostly unable to collect taxes great enough to pay his "officials", so he could not support everyone of his agents with power great enough for ruling. If his agents were required to have enough power to the enforce "king's will", they had to be chosen from powerful local lords, who could hardly be pushed by the king himself to obey king's orders. Appointing a powerless man made no change because such a person would not have been able to represent the king in the appropriate way. A different sort of restriction applied: the "awarding of office" was an inherent part of a complex network of political decisions which helped maintain the delicate balance within the kingdom.[543] The ruler was often forced to choose his "officials" (as well as bishops and abbots) from among men who had

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[540] Since 19th century, the role of *grafiones* and *comites* and the boundaries of their counties were discussed, see Rolf Sprandel, "Dux und comes in der Merovingerzeit," *ZRG* GA 74 (1957): 43–83; cf. Rolf Sprandel, "Bemerkungen zur frühfränkischen comitat," *ZRG* GA 82 (1965): 288–291; Dietrich Claude, "Untersuchungen zum frühfränkischen Comitat," *ZRG* GA 81 (1964): 1–79; cf. Dietrich Claude, "Zu Fragen der frühfränkischen Verfassungsgeschichte," *ZRG* GA83 (1966): 273–280. On the *missi dominici*, cf. Jürgen Hannig, "Zur Funktion der karolingischen 'missi dominici' in Bayern und in den südöstlichen Grenzgebieten," *ZRG* GA 101 (1984): 256–299. About dukes see Archibald R. Lewis, "The Dukes in the Regnum Francorum, A. D. 550–751," *Speculum* 51 (1976), 381–410. In order to get a better image, it is worth mentioning that according to a recently proposed ethymology the word *grafio* is of Germanic origin and is related to the verb "decide/order", see Vykypěl, *Studie k šlechtickým titulům*, 64–67.

[541] On general comments on the issue of formation of central power as a consequence of social pressure and competition of local monopolies, which, however, is in its concrete realization coincidental, see Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 257–361.

[542] *Chlotari II. edictum* in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, edited by Alfred Boretius, *MGH* LL, Capitularia regum Francorum 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), chap. 12, no. 9, 20–23, 22: "Ut nullus iudex de aliis provinciis aut regionibus in alia loca ordinetur; ut, si aliquid mali de quibuslibet condicionibus perpetraverit, de suis propriis rebus exinde quod male abstolerit iuxta legis ordine debeat restaurare".

[543] Even power of modern regulations should not be overestimated, they are often mere proclamations, especially when there are no fixed rules or when something is at a premium. In such cases various personal, informal, client and other ties are of importance. Cf. Kaška, "Indoktrinace členů KSČ," 39–78.

sufficient influence in a given area; failing to do so entailed risking the deterioration of royal presence in the area and thus running the risk of a decision issued by a given "official" not being respected. Assigning "office" simultaneously resulted in the creation of a certain social network: awarding "office" meant binding people. Members of the elite, many of whom held such offices, considering them to be their very own domain, did not fail to recall their origin. In fact, their influence in a given location was often the main motivation for their assignment to office in the first place. Even at a time when the sovereign retained considerable control over the awarding of "offices", these very "offices" must be perceived as a means of creating links between the prince and the local elites: a noble being assigned a prestigious office accepts the ruler's right to award it as well as displaying a certain measure of respect for his authority.[544]

It is not a great surprise, that in this situation the ideas of "office" and "state" were of great importance.[545] While it may be surmised that the intellectual leaders of the times may have been able to distinguish between office and bearer in a given environment, this notion was generally lost in the gradual shifts of the Carolingian world.[546] A limited range of abstract

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[544] In this regard, castles played an important role. On potential forms of relationships between a centre and local structures of power, and especially on difference between rhetoric of power and real limitations of the ruler, see Santiago Castellanos and Iñaki M. Viso, "The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula, 500–1000," *EME* 13 (2005): 1–42.

[545] It would be erroneous to believe that 19th-century historians did not realize distinction between medieval "institutions" and modern offices. Already Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Kiel: Schwers, 1847), 413 claims that . . . *allein alles hatte einen zu persönlichen Charakter; . . . Der Begriff des Staates . . . verschwand.* So he remarked that *es fehlte dem König nur zu oft die Macht um den Grafen oder Herzog in der Abhängigkeit zu halten welche für die Ineheit des Reiches nothwendig war; . . .*; However, they differed from later researchers of Otto Brunner's school in their concept of the norm. Whereas Georg Waitz and others supposed—as medieval kings did—strong ruler's power and clearly defined offices, their opponents concurred rather with opinion of elites, which considered their rule over offices and the ruler as a norm.

[546] For instance, Hans-Werner Goetz and Johannes Fried, in their works on the Carolingian period, formulate a necessary and sufficient condition for the existence of the idea of the impersonal *regnum*. Nevertheless, while Johannes Fried refutes the existence of such an idea in the Carolingian period, Hans-Werner Goetz, in contrast, does not raise any doubts, although he does not question that emphasis on the person of the ruler was much stronger than at the present time. Hans-Werner Goetz, " 'Regnum': Zum politischen Denken der Karolingerzeit," *ZRG* GA 104 (1987): 110–189; Johannes Fried, "Der Karolingische Herrschaftsverband im 9. Jahrhundert zwischen 'Kirche und Königshaus'," *HZ* 235 (1982): 1–44. However, Pohl, "Staat und Herrschaft im Frühmittelalter," 9–38, among many others, doubts this attempt to define early medieval kingdom as an abstract entity and prefers to analyse it as framework for public action.

imperial ideas was proved on the basis of an analysis of datation formulae in the *Libri traditionum* of Freising.[547] Nevertheless, common service to the "state" could have been, in some situations, an important source of loyalty to the king, although it could also supply the elite with autonomous legitimacy that strengthened its position against its ruler.[548] As Thomas Zotz shows, there was no distinction between "court" and "public" office during Merovingian times. He asserts that the notion of office as participation in *ministerio regis* was widespread in Carolingian times, as evidenced by the distinction between *persona* and *ministerio* in capitulars. Nevertheless, "office"—"honour" did afford a certain personal dimension: depriving someone of office implied damage to their honour.[549] The power of medieval kings did not extend beyond the capacity to force disputing parties to resolve their difference at a particular forum and according to a certain set of procedural rules recognized by a wider community. It was a controlling force rather than one of direct coercion.

Chroniclers of the Přemyslid era did not make a distiction between an "office" and its holder. In the Bohemian environment, the ideal fulfillment of the duties of a "count"—*comes*—is only depicted by Cosmas of Prague at the beginning of the twelfth century. Describing the military campaign of Prince Břetislav I to Gniezno 1039, he mentions the alleged launching of a new law which formed a precondition for reconciliation with St. Adalbert and the subsequent retrieval of his body, shielded by the joint sanctions of both the prince—styled as a second Moses—and the bishop.[550] When describing a murder case, Cosmas mentions both

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[547] See Waren Brown, "The Idea of Empire in Carolingian Bavaria," in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500*, edited by Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean, International Medieval Research 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 37–55.

[548] Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum. Aufkommen und Verbreitung der deutschen Reichs- und Königsauffassung im frühen Mittelalter* (Köln – Wien: Böhlau, 1970).

[549] Thomas Zotz, "In Amt und Würden: Zur Eigenart 'offizieller' Positionen im früheren Mittelalter," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 22 (1993): 12–19, 20–23 also shows that this concept gained particular momentum in the tenth century. Stuart Arlie, "Semper fideles? Loyauté envers les Carolingiens comme constituant de l'identité aristocratique," in *Le royauté et les elites dans l'Europe carolingienne: Du début du IXe aux environs 920*, edited by Régine Le Jan (Lille: CRHEN-O, 1998), 139 asserts a similar position, emphasizing the significance of holding "office" and "position" in the identity formation of the aristocracy and pointing out its autonomy (*La possession des honores ne transforme pas les grands en agents d'une fonction publique semblable à celle du vingtième siècle. Au contraire, la possession des honores fait partie des droits de la familie aristocratique*).

[550] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.4, 88: "Sic ait dux. Et presul sancte trinitatis nomine invocato et malleo assumpto ceteris clericis septem psalmos et alias huic sancto operi competentes orationes ymnizantibus, cepit molliter destruere summa sepulchri . . ."; Cf. ibid., 86: "Tunc dux extendens manum suam super sacram tumbam sic orsus est ad populi turbam": *Exten-*

the archpriest as well as the superior of the castle in question, referring to the latter as *comes* and associating him with active participation in the convening of the court procedure.[551] What Cosmas describes is, however, at best a legislative act, a claim voiced by the monarch; at worst it is no more than a complete fiction. Furthermore, evidence of the existence of "castle administration" is provided in a speech uttered— according to Cosmas—by Prince Jaromír and directed at Břetislav, the prince-to-be. Jaromír allegedly urges Břetislav to assign the management of castles to noblemen.[552] Cosmas also mentions Mztis, *comes* of castle Bílina.[553] It should be noted that for a long time to come, this is the sole mention which hints at the existence of such an institution in eleventh century Czech lands. The remaining instances of Cosmas's use of *comes* or *comites* must be interpreted as referring to "foremen",[554] "guides" or

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dite, fratres, simul vestras ad Dominum dextras et ad meos attendite sermones quos volo ut vestre fidei sacramento confirmeitis. Ergo hoc meum maximum et primum sit decretum. Severus episcopus dixit: "Quecumque aliter fecerit, anathema sit".

[551] Ibid., 2.4, 86–87: "Similiter et de his, qui homicidiis infamantur, archipresbyter comiti illius civitatis nomina eorum ascribat, et comes eos conveniat; et si sunt rebelles, in carcerem redigat, . . ."

[552] Ibid., 1.42, 80: "Et iterum Iaromir ad populum: Accedant, inquit, de gente Muncia! accedant de gente Tepca! et vocat eos nominatim, quos norat armis potentiores, fide meliores, milicia fortiores et diviciis eminentiores. . . . Te autem, fili, moneo et repetens iterum iterumque monebo, istos colas ut patres, hos diligas ut fratres et in omnibus negociis tibi consiliarios habeas. His urbes et populum ad regendum committas, per hos enim Boemie regnum stat et stetit atque stabit in sempiternum".

[553] Ibid., 2.19, 111.

[554] Ibid., 1.13, 29: ". . . factum est omnium consilio comitum . . ."; Ibid., 1.13, 30: ". . . invenit ducem in Pragensi palatio cum omnibus residentem comitibus in concilio . . ."; Ibid., 1.13, 31: ". . . corda tremuerunt comitum . . ."; Ibid., 1.29, 52: ". . . Adalbertus . . . colloquium tenuit, multa conquestus de infidelitate et nequicia populi, de incesta copula et super illicita discidia inconstantis coniugii, de inobedientia et negligentia cleri, de arrogantia et intolerabili potentia comitum."; Ibid., 1.29, 53: ". . . tunc temporis non erat sue potestatis, sed comitum . . ."; Ibid., 2.4, 85: ". . . in visione apparens Adalbertus: 'Dic', ait, 'ista duci et eius comitibus . . .' "; Ibid., 2.4, 88: "Tunc dux et episcopus et pauci comitum inspicientes ut viderunt sanctum Dei . . ."; Ibid., 2.16, 106: "Post unum vero mensem evolutum interventu Severi episcopui et comitum nurum suam dans ei conductum . . ."; Ibid., 2.22, 114–115: ". . . hac tractabitur de causa quam istius terre ad custodie claustra; ibi omnes maiores natu huius gentis, ibi proceres et comites, ibi qui sunt in clero meliores aderant, quorum in arbitrio stat episcopalis electio."; Ibid., 2.23, 115: ". . . dux convocat populum et proceres in ceterum et fratribus suis a dextris et a sinistris assistentibus, clericis vero et comitibus per longum gyrum considentibus . . ."; Ibid., 2.43, 149: "Ventum erat ad urbem, cui nomen Brinen, ubi rex circumstantibus terre magnatibus disponens obsidionem per girum, dum designat loca, ubi quisque comes tentoria figat, Zderad villicus, sicut erat homo versipellis, ex obliquo innuens regi oculis iuvenem Bracizlaum inter satrapas coram patre suo stantem . . ."; Ibid., 2.46, 153: ". . . rex . . . congregat terre maiores natu atque corroborat omnium sacramento comitum, quo post suum obitum frater eius Conradus obtineat solium ac Boemie ducatum."; Ibid., 2.48, 155: "Quod videntes, qui in castris remanserant comites, mittunt

"retinue".[555] The few available diplomatic sources from early Přemyslid Bohemia employ the term *comes* in a similar way;[556] however, it is always associated with a particular castle. Only from the mid-twelfth century onwards is it used indiscriminately with *castellanus* or *prefectus urbis*.[557]

Despite there being merely one mention of the office of "castle administrator", its existence may perhaps be accepted. However, nothing is known about its specific capacity or—in particular—its importance. Analogies from both the Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon sources cast significant doubt on any assumed depiction of the holder of such an office functioning as an all-powerful judge and ruler in the vicinity of a castle solely on the strength of princely authority. Although we can agree with Lisa Wolverton, that these castles were economic centers and centers of justice,[558] there are also substantial doubts about the stability of this kind

ad Bracizlaum dicentes: Si tu credulus patri tuo pristinam cum eo redis in gratiam, nos nequaquam credimus ei, quia calidam eius sat novimus astuciam. Plus enim eius amicicias timemus quam inimicicias."; Ibid., 2.50, 158: ". . . ab universis comitibus et satrapis est intronizatus . . ."; Ibid., 3.1, 160–161: "Ergo novus dux Bracizlaus iunior . . . in urbe Praga celebravit natalicium, et omnibus satrapis atque comitibus magnificum per tres exhibuit convivium . . ."; Ibid., 3.9, 170: "Interea dux Bracizlaus dispositis presidiis per civitates, quas sibi tradiderant, et eas fratri suo Borivoy committens reversus est in Boemiam. . . . Item eodem anno dux Bracizlaus . . . invitat ad convivium, quod erat in urbe Satc dispositum, ubi in ipso festo consentientibus omnibus comitibus Boemie factus est Bolezlaus ensifer avunculi sui."; Ibid., 3.13, 175: "Mittunt ilico presul et comites cum festinatione in Moraviam ad Borivoy legatum . . ."; Ibid., 3.15, 176–177: "Tunc Ŏdalricus mittens legatum valde disertum virum, Neusse nomine, filium Dobremil, arguit fratrem suum Borivoy, increpat comites et miniatur eis . . ."; Ibid., 3.15, 177: "Postquam vero suo referente legato animadvertit Ŏdalricus nec fratrem ceder solio nec comites acquiescere suo consilio, . . ."; Ibid., 3.19, 184: "Quem advenientem Wladizlaus et ceteri comites, heu insenati et quasi suimet hostes et patrie inimici . . ."; Ibid., 3.20, 185: "Multi autem ex comitibus, quos ipse Borivoy de proselitis fecerat comites, comitantur eum et secum in Poloniam proficiscuntur."; Ibid., 3.23, 192: ". . . astante comitum agmine dixit . . ."; Ibid., 3.30, 200: "Ipse autem propter iussum regis accelerans in civitate Plizen cum ceteris comitibus . . ."; Ibid., 3.33, 204: ". . . coram duce et ius comitibus . . ."

[555] Ibid., 3.58, 233: ". . . cum omni suo comitatu de Saxonia rediit . . . neque enim tante indolis heros tam temere hanc terram intrasset, si non aliqui ex comitibus extitissent . . ."; The two cases are hardly distinguishable.

[556] The earliest evidence is the foundation charter for Hradisko of 1079, see *CDB,* vol. 1, no. 79, 83. The mention in the document of Litoměřice is a later interpolation, cf. *CDB,* vol. 1, no. 55, 59.

[557] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 204, 193: ". . . Naches castellanus Pragensis, Henricus castellanus Sathensis, Vezene castellanus Bolesolensis, Quhalech castellanus Vadizicensis, Chothebor agaso regis, Chochan dapifer regis, Wezel pincerna regis, Marchuart camerarius regis, Zuezlaus castellanus Gradicensis, Stibor castellanus Budisinensis, Zauisa castellanus Zedelicensis".

[558] Cf. Wolverton, *Hastening towards Prague*, 33–34.

of territorial organisation.[559] Moreover, an anonymous narrative from the first half of the twelfth century by the so-called Canon of Vyšehrad offers some insight into the possible perceptions of this office on the part of Přemyslid aristocracy: an interrogated conspirator allegedly confessed that a Chaplain Božík had lured him into committing acts of treachery and had promised him a lucrative office in exchange. His arguments listed the aristocracy and wisdom of the man's father which—according to Božík and probably even according to the treacherous nobleman—should comprise ample guarantees of obtaining a prominent position. However, his expectations not being fulfilled, he might well have considered said acts of treachery.[560] Far from merely documenting the elites' claims to a certain form of entitlement, the passage also illustrates how the closeness to the prince and the honours and offices he assigned formed a frame of reference for the nobles in eleventh and twelfth century Czech lands. The Canon of Vyšehrad essentially states that a noble striving for power was simultaneously striving for office and prince while obviously using these ambitions to keep his power.[561]

Princely disgrace could have been expressed not only by seizure of land, but also through the deposition. Cosmas informs us that Vratislav II (1061–1092) accepted the invitation of *comes* Mztis, who kept his wife in prison a few years ago.[562] After the consecration of a new church in

[559] Ibid., 33–34. Cf. Borgolte, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens*; Mathew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages. The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–900*, Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought 4.47 (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2005). Any attempt to define the boundaries of counties in Přemyslid Bohemia and Moravia succeeded, cf. Josef Pekař, "O správním rozdělení země české do polovice 13. století," in *Sborník prací historických k 60. narozeninám J. Golla*, edited by Jaroslav Bidlo, Gustav Friedrich and Kamil Krofta (Historický klub: Prague, 1906), 81–123; August Sedáček, *O starém rozdělení Čech na kraje*, Rozpravy České akademie věd a umění Třída I, 61 (Nakladatelství České akademie věd a umění: Prague, 1921).

[560] *Canonici Wissegradensis Continuatio Cosmae*, edited by Josef Emler, FRB 2 (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1875), 211: "Ad ultimum vero venit ad me Bosik, vester capellanus, atque tali modo me monere coepit: Nonne, clarissime fili, patre tuo in hac provincia nullus nobilior nullusque sapientior fuit? tu autem inter alios huius terrae primates pro minimo haberis, insuper et germanum tuum tamdiu in vinculis pro nihilo multa mala perferre pateris? Ergo melius est, ut hoc duce superbissimo peremto, talem inthronizemus, a quo sine dubio cuncta, quae nobis placuerint, habere poterimus. Quod si mihi non credis, ad talem te deducam, cui indubitanter credere poteris".

[561] Wolverton, *Hastening towards Prague*, 54–55 clearly proved the rotation of castellans and court officers among various posts.

[562] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.19, 111: "Ea tempestate Mztis comes urbis Beline, filius Boris, vir magne audacie, maioris eloquentie nec minoris prudentie, quamvis non inmemor, quod suspectum ducem habuerit, quia eius coniugem sibi quandoque a domino suo commissam in custodia tenuerit tamen audacter palatium ducis ingressus rogaturus eum his verbis

a suburb of Bílina, the prince returned to his castle, whereas the bishop stayed with Mztis in his house near the church.[563] Mztis was reached there soon by a princely messenger, who conveyed him Vratislav's decision to depose him from his "office".[564] Although Mztis accepted his ruler's will, he also remarked that Vratislav is not allowed to seizure the property of his church.[565] Through this story, Cosmas not only confirmed negative image of Vratislav II, whose vindictiveness and insidiousness he described, but also Vratislav's right to promote new *comites*. We can also see that one man from known family, Mztis, son of Boris, was replaced by another one, Koyata, son of Wsebor.[566] Mztis' invitation of Vratislav II could, in this case, be understood as an attempt to find a way to the new prince, who had just inherited the throne. Vratislav probably did not dare to depose him immediately, because he did not find his position stable enough and therefore he accepted the invitation and then startlingly replaced him by

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suppliciter est aggressus: ‚Fratris tui‘, inquit,‘ per gratiam in honore sancti Petri apostoli edificavi ecclesiam, cuius ad dedicationis sollempnitatem quo dignemini adven tare simul et urbem adventu tuo letificare, supplices meas ne despice preces.‘ Ille quamvis non inme- mor ac cepte iniurie, quam olim sibi fecerat in coniuge, tamen propter novitatem suam dissimulans in corde quam habuit iram, dixit: ‚Ego veniam, civitatem letificabo meam et, quod res et iusticia postulat, faciam.‘ Hoc verbum, quod locutus est princeps, non intellexit comes et magnas duci agens grates k letus abiit et parat, que sunt necessaria ad magna convivia".

    [563] Ibid., 2.19, 111: "Venerat dux et episcopus, et ecclesia, que est sita in suburbio, mox dedicata ascendit dux in urbem ad prandium, episcopus vero et comes in sua curte, que fuit ante ecclesiam, similiter positis mensis epulis discumbunt".

    [564] Ibid., 2.19, 111: "Et inter pranden dum venit nuncius, qui diceret in aure comiti: ‚Ablata est tibi urbis prefectura et data est Koyate, filio Wseboris‘; qui tunc temporis primus erat in palatio ducis".

    [565] Ibid., 2.19, 111: "Ad hec comes respondit: ‚Dux est et dominus, de civitate sua faciat, quod sibi placet. Quod autem mea ecclesia hodie habet, auferendi dux potestatem non habet.‘ Qui nisi illa nocte consilio presulis et auxilio aufugisset, procul dubio amisisset ocu- los et pedem suum, quem olim compedivit cum pede coniugis ducis."; About the relation- ship between the church and elites in early medieval Přemyslid realm cf. David Kalhous, "Problémy formování církevní správy v českých zemích v raném středověku," forthcoming. See also František Hrubý, "Církevní zřízení v Čechách a na Moravě od 10. do konce 13. sto- letí a jeho poměr ke státu," *ČČH* 22 (1916): 17–53, 257–287, 385–421, or Hans F. Schmid, "Die rechtlichen Grundlagen der Pfarrorganisation auf westslawischen Boden und uhre Entwic- klung während des Mittelalters," *ZRG* KA 15 (1926): 1–161; 17 (1928): 264–358 and Václav Vaníček, *Základy právního postavení klášterů a klášterního velkostatku ve starém českém státě*. 3 vols. Práce ze semináře českého práva na KU v Praze 18, 22, 24 (Prague: Bursík a Kohout, 1933–1939); for Polish mileu cf. Józef Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni wobec kościola w Polsce do początku XIII wieku* (Poznań 2002).

    [566] Ibid., 2.19, 111: "Ea tempestate Mztis comes urbis Beline, filius Boris, vir magne auda- cie, maioris eloquentie nec minoris prudentie . . . Et inter pranden dum venit nuncius, qui diceret in aure comiti: ‚Ablata est tibi urbis prefectura et data est Koyate, filio Wseboris‘; qui tunc temporis primus erat in palatio ducis".

his man. The foundation of the new church also supports our assumption that Mztis did not feel safe and wanted at least to secure his property not only through the improved relationship to the new prince, but also thanks to the endowment of the church.

Besides the question of the "offices", the issue of taxes already played a significant role when considering the relationship between centre and periphery.[567] Different types of ducal incomes, especially tolls, or taxes, were collected in the castles and to princely "officers" was given one third of these incomes. Earlier historians regarded the so-called *tributum pacis* as a tax, which is, however, mentioned only in one original charter—Soběslav II's privilege for Vyšehrad of 1178.[568] The earlier privilege by Soběslav I for the chapter of canons of Vyšehrad refers only to an "annual tribute" paid by Prague, Vyšehrad, Žatec, Sedlec, Litoměřice, Bílina, Děčín, Stará Boleslav, an unidentified Kamenec, Hradec (Králové), Opočno, Chrudim, Kouřim, Plzeň (Pilsen), Libice and an unknown Vratno. A tenth of this tribute allegedly went to the Canons.[569] A spurious act in the name of Břetislav, probably from the twelfth century, but extant in an early modern transcript, mentions a share of the Chapter of Stará Boleslav from a *tributum pacis*.[570] The foundation charter of the monastery in Opatovice in the name of Vratislav II, in fact a twelfth-century forgery, is a dubious case, since the notary of this charter mentions an exemption

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[567] Cf. important remarks in Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 57–62; Santiago Castellanos, "The Political Nature of Taxation in Visigothic Spain," *EME* 12 (2003): 201–228. For Bohemia and Moravia see Václav Novotný, *Čechy královské za Přemysla I. a za Václava I.*, vol. 1.3 of *České dějiny* (Prague: Laichter, 1928), 31–40. Kamil Krofta, "Začátky české berně," *ČČH* 36 (1930): 1–26, 237–257, 437–490, at 238, 437 points out that it is not clear how this tax was paid and that it might have been collected by the *tributarii*. He also assumes that this tax originated from the reign of St Wenceslas or Boleslav I and connects it with the judicial power of the duke, see Kamil Krofta, "Staročeská daň míru," in Sbornik statej, posvjaščennych Pavlu Nikolajeviču Miljukovu, 1859–1929 (Prague: Izdanije redakcionnago komiteta, 1929), 155–192; Vratislav Šmelhaus, *Kapitoly z dějin předhusitského zemědělství*, Rozpravy ČSAV, řada společenskovědní, no. 9, 1964 (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1964), 11–16. As a relict from "ancient times" sees this tax Dušan Třeštík, "Mír a dobrý rok: Státní ideologie raného přemyslovského státu mezi křesťanstvím a pohanstvím," *FHB* 12 (1988): 23–45. Cf. also soboly Wolverton, *Hastening towards Prague*, 25–27.

[568] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 287, 252 z 1178: "Ad honorem itaque dei et eiusdem ecclesie et ad meliorandam prebendam fratrum do circuitum in suburbio Pragensi, qui matris mee fuerat, quia tantum a tempore patris mei fuit eis inminuta prebenda de tributo pacis, ut nunc quisque C denarios, raro plures, sepe vero pauciores accipiat, qui tempore patris mei mille et DCC accipiebant".

[569] Ibid., no. 111, 113: "...decimam marcam de annuo tributo ..."

[570] Ibid., no. 382, 361: "...decimam urnam mellis tributique pacis ..."

from a "Royal tribute".[571] It is only this charter that makes it possible to specify the characteristics of this tax—provided that the "Royal tribute" and the *tributum pacis* correspond to each other—for the duty to pay this tax is here connected with the status of a freeman.

Since the Frankish king published his laws together "with foremen and elders",[572] we can certainly cast doubt on whether the aristocracy of these people was derived from the royal *placet*.[573] In connection with the efforts of Boleslav II (972–999) to negotiate peace with Emperor Otto II during his plundering of the Czech lands, a note in the *Annales Altahenses* describes his arrival: he came not alone, but in the company of a few men, and only thus committed himself to peace and the submission of all his "people".[574] According to Thietmar of Merseburg, Boleslav III (999–1002, 1003) also issued his warranties to the Bohemians.[575] A second

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[571] Ibid., no. 386, 369: "Sciendum quoque est, ut si quis liber in possessiones eorum transierit et predictas terras . . . possederit, simili servituti sit asstrictus et absque tributo regis permaneat et servilia opera impendat".

[572] *Pactus pro tenore pacis, prologus*, 250: "Id ergo decretum est <apud nos maioresque natus Francorum palacii procerum>, ut apud quemcumque post interdictm latrocinium conprobatur, uitae incurrat periculum."; *Decretio Childeberti, 3.102, §2, 259*: "Tunc uicini illi, quibus nuntiatur a iudice, ante XL noctes, qui meliores sunt, cum sexaginos quinos <iurator(e)s> se exeunt, quod nec occidissent nec sciant, qui occidissent; minoflidis uero <uicini> quinos denos iuratores donent . . ".; *Edictus Chilperici*, 4.106, 261: "Pertractantes in Dei nomine cum uiris magnificentissimis obtimatibus uel antrustionibus et omni populo nostro conuenit, quia fluuium Caronna hereditas non transiebat, ubi et ubi in regione nostra hereditas detur, sicut et reliqua loca ut et Turrouaninsis hereditatem dare debent et accipere."; Ibid., 5.117, §2, 263: "Aut Romanum ingenuum uel tributarium aut militem, solidos C culpabilis iudicetur."; See also Weidemann, "Adel im Merowingerreich," 537–538.

[573] That is the conclusion of Weidemann, "Adel im Merowingerreich," 549, 554. Although the existence of aristocracy in the rigorous sense of the word as used in the 11th and 12th centuries is not acknowledged in Czech historiography, the role of the prince is considered central: though he is no absolute ruler, he is the source of all magnates' rights. Cf. Třeštík and Žemlička, "O modelech vývoje," 122, 139–149.

[574] *Annales Altahenses maiores ad A. 977*, 13: "Otdo imperator iunior in Bohemia duxit exercitum et maximam partem terrae illorum incendio vastavit. Ipseque quoque imperator ibi non parvam partem militum exercitus per fraudes et insidias provincialium amisit. Lues autem dissenteriae exercitum multum vastabat. Venit ergo ad imperatorem Bolizlawo cum paucis pacifice, per amicos suos et per semet ipsum supplicans, ut domum rediret, fideliter promittens se cito secuturum cum muneribus et donis sibi congruis et sui deditionem et totius gentis suae deditionem et subiectionem, quod et impetratum".

[575] *Thietmari Chronicon* 5.29 (18), 253–255: "Mortuo interea duce Wlodoweio, fratres predicti, una cum matre expulsi, a Bohemiensibus penitencia ductis revocantur . . . Enimvero cum Bolislaus Boemensis cerneret populum suum execrando ritui deditum, in maxima securitate constitutum, impietatem suam ad confringenda federa pacis, quam sacramentis firmaverat, intantum armavit, ut, collectis in unam domum coram se cunctis optimatibus, prio generum suum gladio in kaput eius merso ipse occideret ceterosque inermes in ipsa sancta quadragesima, vir sanguinum et dolosus nec sibi concessos umquam dignus dimidiare dies, cum sue malicie fautores interficeret".

report in the *Annales Altahenses* likewise depicts magnates as taking an active part in policy concerning the emperor.[576] It was the *primates* who—acting entirely independently—were themselves responsible for choosing the new prince.[577] Also the few available documents issued by Přemyslid princes during the tenth and eleventh centuries were published almost exclusively in the presence of the "first",[578] who—if analogies are to be trusted—could have even been co-donators.[579] Useful insight into the role of elites opens us once again to Cosmas of Prague. His vivid description of the election of a new bishop of Prague in 1068 attached big importance

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[576] *Annales Altahenses maiores ad A. 1041*, 27: "Igitur multi terrae principes una cum Pragensi episcopo caesarem adeunt, inscio duce se dedunt, gratiamque obtinent, consilium incolarumque aperiunt, aut ipsi duci ad caesarem sponte veniendum, aut ipsum propediem in vinculis sese deducturos. Quod ubi dux cognovit, insidias praeoccupavit, legatos ex animo suplices mittit, omnium familiatorum purpuratorum auxilium ac opem implorat, ut liceret, sese cum omni regno suisque dedere et gratiam caesaris, veluti ipsi suisque placeret, quaerere."; Against credibility of this account, see Novotný, *Od Břetislava I. po Otakara I.*, 49, n. 2; Krzemieńska, *Boj knížete Břetislava I.,* 55–57.

[577] Roderich Schmidt, "Die Einsetzung der böhmischen Herzöge auf den Thron zu Prag," in *Aspekte der Nationenbildung im Mittelalter: Ergebnisse der Marburger Rundgespräche 1972–1975*, edited by Helmut Beumann and Werner Schröder, Nationes 1, Historische und politische Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der Europäischen Nationen im Mittelalter (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1978), 439–463. Numerous examples of the importance of the role of aristocracy in the selection process and the resulting stability of the kingdom are to be found in other "barbarian" kingdoms, cf. Wilhelm Giese, "Designative Nachfolgeregelungen in germanischen Reichen der Völkerwanderungszeit," *ZRG* GA 117 (2000): 39–120 proves that efforts of rulers of barbarian realms to rule out the role of the elites from the issue of succession to the throne and to proclaim the successor in advance mostly indicated a subsequent period of instability. On an interesting idea of coronation as reconciliation between the king and aristocracy mediated through church magnates in Anglo-Saxon England, see Pauline Stafford, "The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises," *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1982): 173–190. On the role of the *witan* under the reign of Alfred the Great and his successors, see Alfred P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 427–447.

[578] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 37, 43: "... dux Bolezlaus presentibus omnibus primatibus suis ..."; ibid., no. 40, 47: "... Boleslao ... coram primatibus suis commendavit et eum abbatem vocari et esse precepit ..."; ibid., no. 80, 85–87: "... obtestamur omnes nostros successores vel terrae primates et universum populum ..."; ibid., no. 91, 98–99: "... Qui rex, ut prudens homo, precavens in futurum, ne quis emulus prosperitate habita hec perverteret, Jaromiro, suo fratri, tunc temporis Pragensi episcopo id iniunxit, ut astantibus primatibus Bohemorum nec non et omni plebe eternali vinculo omnes malivolos et destructores ecclesiastice utilitatis innecteret et cum Juda traditore eterno igne puniendos diabolo commiteret ..."; ibid., no. 110, 111 after February 18, 1126: "... Wenceslaus ... cum omni clero atque primatibus suis ... dedit ..."; Numerous similar formulae appear also in the Anglo-Saxon environment, see at least Smyth, *King Alfred the Great*, 427–447, or e.g. the donation charter of King Aethelbert of Kent of 605: http://www.aschart.kcl.ac.uk/content/charters/text/s0003 .html. These *formulae* are common also in charters of other Anglo-Saxon rulers.

[579] Schrage, "Zur Siedlungspolitik der Ottonen," 255–262 points out that nobles in Germania Slavica used to be actual masters of the land "donated" by the king.

to Koyata, son of Vsebor, whom we met few years ago as one of Vratislav's protégés and new *comes* of Bílina, and Smil, son of Bozen, and prefectus in important centre Žatec.[580] We learn from Cosmas that through this election in a military camp near the Opočno, Vratislav attempted to convince his brothers and the elites to cast their votes to Lanc, provost in Litoměřice, instead of to his brother Jaromír.[581] While Vratislav's brothers, dukes Conrad I and Otto I, did not dare to resist his brother's will, Koyata and Smil opposed their lord and managed to persuade the assembly of Jaromír's suitability for the Episcopal office. Vratislav's attempt to influence the will of assembly tells us also that he recognized its importance. Though somewhat paradoxical, there can be no doubt that the very presence of an elite—whose power was derived from the prince—was in turn essential for legitimizing his position. As sources routinely speak of the "powerful" as a whole, we must accept that they were indeed perceived as such and that they in fact acted as a whole.

The St. Wenceslas cult, thanks to its symbolic capital, may well have been an important means of shaping their group identity.[582] Moreover, they were often related to the princely family through kinship ties which were often difficult to trace: this applies both to the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon environments, as well as—apparently—to the Bohemian milieu.[583] As there is no room for doubt regarding the power of a prince over aristocracy, the relationship must be understood as one of mutual conditioning.

Although we mentioned above that in one place Cosmas refers to the elite as the "wealthy", we do not know what kind of property constituted the most considerable part of its wealth. In early medieval society gifts enabled the building, strengthening, or confirming of social bonds between the lord and his men or between the members of the aristocracy themselves. While the extensive properties of Frankish nobles are seldom questioned,[584] the quantity of immovable property owned by Bohemian or Moravian nobles is unknown. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,

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[580] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.23–24, 115–117.

[581] Ibid., 2.22, 114–115.

[582] Cf. below in n. 619, 9. 142–143. Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological theory* 7 (1989): 14–25.

[583] Josef Žemlička, " 'Dvacet pánů' české země: K vymezení panujícího rodu v 11. a 12. století," *ČMM* 117 (1998): 293–309; Weidemann, "Adel im Merowingerreich," 535–555.

[584] Cf. an analysis of the testament of Bishop Berthramn in Margarete Weidemann, *Das Testament des Bischofs Berthramn von Le Mans vom 27. März 616.* Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 9(Bonn: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1986).

numerous charters confirm great estates of nobles. However, we do not know much about the land property of tenth- and eleventh-century elites.[585] Also in contemporary narrative sources the category of land property does not play an important role.

The complexity of medieval conditions regarding the relationship between man and land is apparent from the omnipresent terminological ambiguities.[586] Nevertheless, such terminology allows us to explore the

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[585] As many historians of 19th and 20th century, e.g. František Palacký or Josef Šusta, Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička only mention nobles' farmsteads, generally cultivated by enslaved serfs, cf. Třeštík and Žemlička, "O modelech vývoje," 144–149. The same view in Stanislaw Russocki, "Z badań nad czeskim systemem beneficjalnym," *CzPrH* 23, no. 1 (1971): 33–46, at 35–36. Thus, in order to account for the existence of large domains—first appearing at the end of the twelfth century—both historians consciously follow in the footsteps of certain trends in French and German historiography, utilizing the term "privatisation" in their concept of the shifts taking place within the Přemyslid "state" to describe the alleged usurpation of the property associated with office, i.e. one of the processes leading to the emergence of large noble estates in the second half of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries, cf. Žemlička, "České 13. století," 509–541. Similarly Russocki, "Z badań," 36–38; and also Třeštík, "K sociální struktuře," of 1971. That is why the efforts in the period after 1989 to update the concept can be connected only with use of the concrete term, see Žemlička, "České 13. století," 514. It was assumed that the prince was actually the original owner of everything. As most recent research suggests, it is an open question as of to what extent ruler's donations, confirmations and capitulations can serve as a source. It seems that these documents only demonstrate claims or, as the case might be, resignation. Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička also proceed from alleged Bavarian analogies (Wilhelm Störmer), which, however, are not quite up to date, since the Bavarian *Libri traditionum*, the main source of these conclusions, probably do not refer to transactions of persons of highest rank, see Charles I. Hammer, "Land Sales in Eighth- and Ninth-Century Bavaria: Legal, Economic and Social Aspects," *EME* 6 (1997): 47–76. Earlier, but to some extent differently, see Šusta, "Otroctví a velkostatek," 39–43, 95, who regards formation of large estates based on slavish work (!) as a result of transformation of society under the reign of Boleslaves and claims that this phenomenon is an import, mediated particularly by Carolingian monasteries which proceeded from the tradition of Roman latifundia. He does not refuse existence of large estates with villications, with land in direct tenure as well as land granted for use in an aristocratic environment. The transformations in the thirteenth century he explains rather with lower intensity of cultivation in large estates, caused by colonization of vast areas and transition to a monetary form of the ground rent leading to a transformation of slaves into subjects, see ibid., 97.

[586] On specific features of medieval tenure, see e.g.—with focus on transformations of testamentary practice—Brigitte Kasten, "Erbrechtliche Verfügungen des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Organisation und zur Schriftlichkeit bei der Verwaltung adeliger Grundherrschaften am Beispiel des Grafen Heccard aus Burgund," *ZRG* GA 107 (1990): 236–338; on an example of a dispute over possessions which were granted more times, see Hubert Mordek, "Ein exemplarischer Rechtsstreit: Hinkmar von Reims und das Landgut Neuilly-Saint-Front," *ZRG* KA 83 (1997): 86–112; on the issue of time limitations of medieval donations and the question of confirmations, see Hermann Krause, "Dauer und Vergänglichkeit im mittelalterlichen Recht," *ZRG* GA 75 (1958): 206–251. A theoretical

connotations emphasized by the user of a certain term with respect to their relationship to persons, things or rights.[587] This is especially true of the term "heritage"—*hereditas* which plays an important role in interpreting the provisions of the so-called *Statutes of Conrad Otto* which date to the late twelfth century. However, the document is only preserved in a later confirmation by Přemyslid Otakar I (1197–1230) and was created with the objective of recording law for the needs of monasteries in Moravia.[588] Its first article states "All heritages that without objection, in peace and justice were held by significant as well as less significant nobles at the time of Prince Conrad, let them retain henceforth."[589] How to define these "heritages"? Did they always comprise alloid possessions?[590] Of course not. The author of these provisions was interested in their inheritability. However, this could have been associated with the holding of lent estates.[591] Likewise, we are unable to ascertain whether such provisions represented one of many confirmations of the *status quo ante*,[592] or whether it in fact comprised the establishment of a new legal, power and social situation.[593]

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reflection on ownership in the Middle Ages, see Damian Hecker, *Eigentum als Sachherrschaft: Zur Genese und Kritik eines besonderen Herrschaftsanspruchs* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1990). Even in early modern times the term ownership is not unambiguous and the link between the alleged Roman property law and capitalism is rather a concept of liberal historiography, see Rosa Congost, "Property Rights and Historical Analysis: What Rights? What history?" *PaP* 181 (2003): 73–106. For Czech lands in 12th century, cf. Wolverton, *Hastening towards Prague*, 23–24.

[587] Briefly, but inspirationally, see Gerhard Köbler, "Eigen und Eigentum," *ZRG GA* 95 (1978): 1–33. Cf. alsoEmily Z. Tabuteau, "Ownership and Tenure in Eleventh-Century Normandy," *JAmLegH* 21 (1977): 97–124; *Emily Z. Tabuteau, Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press 1988).

[588] See Petr Horák, "K statutům Konráda Oty," *ČMM* 80 (1961): 267–280.

[589] The confirmation of Znojmo, extant in its copy of the fourteenth century, mentions: "Omnes hereditates, quas viri nobiles tam minores, quam maiores tempore ducis Conradi sine querela iuste et pacifice huc usque possederunt, in bona tranquilitate pacis amodo possideat". See *CDB*, vol. 2, no. 234, 223.

[590] See, Jan, *Václav II.*, 171. The author claims it with reference to Russocki, with no other evidence; Libor Jan also assumes that the late-twelfth-century *hereditas* and the *hereditas* of later times are the same. Dušan Třeštík considers the option of the land at full disposal which does not rule out supreme property rights of the duke.

[591] See e.g. Tabuteau, "Ownership and Tenure," 104–118 with separation of the perpetual *hereditas* and perpetually and unconditionally owned *proprietas*. Later, this term denoted owned possessions.

[592] Jan, *Václav II.*, 170–171.

[593] Josef Žemlička, *Počátky Čech královských, 1198–1253: Proměna státu a společnosti* (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2002), 208. From earlier historians, see e.g. Rostislav Nový, *Přemyslovský stát 11. a 12. století*. AUC Phil. et hist. Monographia 43 (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1972), 110–111. On the basis of Rauscher's work, Nový regards the *hereditates* generally as real property and not allodial *dědiny* of later provincial law; therefore, he interprets the *Sta-*

The precise meanings of the terms *hereditas, patrimonium* and others are not specified in eleventh and twelfth century sources, they are only associated with designations of allodial property in later sources.[594] Acceptance of one of the hypotheses is therefore based on assumed continuity or discontinuity in the social development of the Czech lands of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, it can never be used as an argument confirming one of the two.[595]

Piotr Górecki, primarily occupied with examining the so-called *Henryków Book*, written in Silesia in the thirteenth century, has established that consensus regarding the term *hereditas* and the origins of a dichotomy between inherited family estates and those acquired by an individual during his lifetime and for life—e.g. via service—was the outcome of a relatively long process in which a certain rule was postulated as an accepted standard, thus serving as one of the tools used in defence of one's property rather than as an automatic basis for legal decisions.[596] The norm itself, presented by Peter of Henryków as "solid" and "traditional", was—as Górecki shows—the subject of defence. Moreover, Peter of Henryków carefully links it with supposedly common notions regarding service and respect for the prince.[597] Nevertheless, it cannot be said that a definition of *hereditas* or its alleged opposite was generally accepted: e.g. upon receiving earned land intended for individual ownership, common practice dictated that that land be confirmed by relatives.[598] Górecki's findings also indicate that earned estates relatively quickly and continually tended to transform into "heritages"—i.e. that a presumed sudden usurpation of all earned lands and their transformation into inheritable property within the space of half a century is not very likely.

While Frankish wills and, better yet, traditional deeds provide a measure of insight into the state of nobles' property, there are very few sources

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tuta as confirmation of retirement pay, that is, originally ruler's properties. Similarly also Wolverton, *Hastening towards Prague*, 23–25.

[594] We only know that the estates given *hereditario iure* were given forewer.

[595] The precise analysis of meanings of the notions *patrimonium, allodus, hereditas* in the charters from Normandy convincingly demonstrated that there were significant changes in the vocabulary, see Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*.

[596] Piotr Górecki, "A Historian as a Source of Law: Abbot Peter of Henryków and the Invocation of Norms in Medieval Poland c. 1200–1270," *Law and History Review* 18 (2000): 479–523.

[597] Ibid., 489–497.

[598] Ibid., 497–513.

relevant to the Czech lands prior to 1100.[599] Up until that year, the princes themselves only issued a limited number of deeds. A mere two deed records allude to donations made by the aristocracy and a further few mentions are to be found in sovereign deeds and narrative sources. A lack of period documents is unfortunately a general phenomenon, associated with the decline of such documents at the end of the Carolingian period. In itself, it therefore proves very little.

In a first donation, the nobleman Nemoj from the powerful Vršovec-clan donated five villages to the Vyšehrad chapter which allegedly comprised "all of his riches".[600] A second deed, by Zbudko, provost of the Stará Boleslav chapter and canon of the chapter at St. Vitus in Prague, donated three villages to St. Vitus-bazilika in Prague as well as establishing the Church of Our Lady and St. George in Stará Boleslav.[601] In both cases, the gift was made with the consent of the duke and the bishop of Prague. Present were also other members of the aristocracy, and, because we can find them as witnesses on the early medieval ducal deeds and charters as well, the importance of the public for the stability of these legal acts is confirmed.

Two further instances illustrate the aristocracy's founding activities: Sázava Monastery—a notoriously disputable case[602]—and a twelfth-century forgery of the founding charter of the Opatovice Monastery in the

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[599] On this phenomenon, see already the monograph Ferdinand Kloss, "Das räumliche Bild der Grundherrschaft in Böhmen bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts. 2: Die weltliche Herrschaft," *MVGDB* 70 (1932): 187–220. See also Nový, *Přemyslovský stát*, 87–95, 105–114.

[600] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 100, 105–106: "Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris, quod ego Nemoy sanus corpore, retractans in animo meo de futura vita, in presentia Boriuoy ducis et episcopi Hermanni et Blagonis comitis, Mutinę atque Bosey et multorum aliorum necnon fratrum Wisegradensis ęcclesię, omnem substanciam meam post mortem meam, scilicet V villas Crenuc, Vrascov, Hraberci, Scrisin, Libin, totam familiam, et quicquid habeo, dimitto uxori meę, quam diu permanserit in viduitate. Si vero nupserit vel morietur, postea sint omnia mea fratribus Wisegradensisbus pro anima mea. Et ut istud firmum sit, predictus dux et episcopus firmaverunt; . . ."

[601] The originality of this charter proved Jiří Pražák, "Nejstarší listina pražského kostela," *SAP* 10 (1960): 230–245. The author also published its text (at 216): "Zbutko, ecclesie Boleslauiensis praepositus et ecclesiae Pragensis canonicus, in Boleslauia edifficavit ecclesiam s. Marie Virginis et s. Georgii. Item de bonis patrimonialibus in Lethnian miliare a Praga donat predium suum ecclesie Pragensi, sed decimam dictis ecclesiis in predio. Item Zlatinam suum patrimonium donat ecclesie Pragensi. Item in Brzescan animatores et omnem fructum cum prato canonicis ecclesie donavit cum excommunicacione teribili omnibus. Sigillum Brzetislai ducis Bohemie, Hermanni episcopi Pragensis. Anno 1098."; The aforesaid Zbutko died probably on April, 29, see *Necrologium Bohemicum*, in František Graus, "Necrologium Bohemicum—martyrologium pragense a stopy nekosmovského pojetí dějin," *ČsČH* 15 (1967): 801–810, 804.

[602] See above, pp. 223–227.

name of Vratislav II (1061–1092), designating the cell of the noble Mikulec as the basis for the future monastery, though factually subordinate to Břevnov Monastery.[603]

We can identify two common characteristics based on an analysis of property assets dating to the first half of the twelfth century: they all comprised five to ten villages and were generally scattered over a relatively large area.[604]

It is naturally extremely difficult to compare these gifts with donations made by Carolingian aristocracy.[605] In all of Bohemia, only the Přemyslids themselves could stand up to these dynasties.[606] Most of Přemyslid pious gifts were not much more generous than the ones made by Nemoj. When Spytihněv II (1055–1061) founded the Litoměřice chapter, the largest foundation prior to 1100, he assigned it 14 villages only.[607] Although we have not forgotten gifts of tolls or shares on ducal earnings, differences between the extent of noble assets *en gross* and the size of the princely domain cannot be considered qualitative. The meagre evidence should be also seen as

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[603] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 386, 369–370: "... quod mei primatis, videlicet Mikulec, cellam in Gradcensi territorio sitam, Breunouensi coenobio regulari obedientia subiectam, amodo per se subsistere et abbaciam vocari et exxe decerno et decernendo confirmo. ... Predictus vero Miculec Uratizlaui terram unius aratra obtulit. Tezlin, prepositus Gradcensis, terram uniius aratri Platchicich. Boleradus abbas dedim eidem ęcclesie terram Liubcichas. Gero capellanus meus villam Platimich. ... Usebor quoque meus primas dedit eidem villam Lodine."; Václav Hrubý, *Tři studie k české diplomatice*, edited by J. Šebánek (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1936), 133–134 claims that the narratio was taken over from a real charter of Vratislav II.

[604] Cf. Nový, *Přemyslovský stát*, 109 with maps at 106 and 108. On the development of aristocratic possessions in the (Holy) Roman Empire from the tenth to thirteenth centuries, see Werner Rösener, "Beobachtungen zur Grundherrschaft des Adels im Hochmittelalter," in *Grundherrschaft und bäuerliche Gesellschaft im Hochmittelalter*, edited by Werner Rösener, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 115 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 116–161, and Reuter, "Property Transactions and Social Relations Between Rulers, Bishops and Nobles in Early Eleventh-Century Saxony: The Evidence of the Vita Meinwerci," in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 165–199.

[605] Cf. e.g. Kasten, "Erbrechtliche Verfügungen," 304–317. Also the possibility of existence of a description of Count Heccard's properties is presented there. However, it should be mentioned that tenure of a whole village by a Carolingian aristocrat is rather rare.

[606] See above, pp. 224–227 or n. 611 on following page. Only those few charters are used here which make it possible to connect individual donations with individual persons. In other cases, it cannot be ruled out that more donations were connected with one person. On their basis, one can ascertain an extent of church property on a certain date but not a size of individual possessions.

[607] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 55, 56. There are also forged charters containing information of considerable donations. But it is not ossible to decide whether those donations were granted by a single person only.

a warning against considering the potential existence of extensive noble estates a defining phenomenon of early Přemyslid society. Also, the substantial growth of charter evidence since 1150 illustrates deep changes in the character of early medieval society in Bohemia and Moravia.[608]

However, this leads us to another, more fundamental issue: the relationship between noble elites and the unprivileged classes. As it stands, our analysis has merely confirmed the existence of aristocracy, but it has not addressed its role in day to day life outside power centres. A narrative recounting the beginnings of Sázava Monastery, as recorded sometime in the 1160s by the so-called Monk of Sázava, provides the only available insight into the practical workings of the relationship between ruler and local communities. The author's rendering was naturally influenced by the relationship of the portrayed heroes to Sázava Monastery. The narration is rather belated, discussing events which allegedly took place a century before they were recorded.[609] The so-called Monk of Sázava writes of Prince Břetislav confirming his father's donation.[610] However, this resulted

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[608] Cf. Zdeněk Fiala, "K počátkům listin v Čechách," *SH* 1 (1953): 27–45; Zdeněk Fiala, "K otázce funkce našich listin do konce 12. století," *SPFFBU C* 7 (1960): 5–34; Jindřich Šebánek, "Das Verhältnis zur Urkunde als methodischer Faktor der diplomatischen Arbeit," *SPFFBU C* 6 (1959): 5–19.

[609] Moreover, the beginnings of the monastery have long been disputed in Czech historiography. Starting with Kamil Krofta and Václav Novotný, some researchers have considered its foundation the work of a prince while others have favoured a noble establishment. For the hypothesis of princely foundation see most recently Petr Sommer, *Svatý Prokop: Z počátků českého státu a církve* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2007), 114–122. From earlier authors, see Kamil Krofta, review of *Zur böhmischen Quellenkunde*, vol. 2, *Der Mönch von Sazawa*, by Václav Novotný, *ČČH* 17 (1911): 251–252. Theory of noble foundations preferred most recently Martin Wihoda, "Sázavský klášter v ideových souřadnicích českých dějin 11. věku," in *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a střední Evropa*, edited by Petr Sommer (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2006). See also Václav Novotný, *Zur böhmischen Quellenkunde*, vol. 2, *Der Mönch von Sazawa*, Sitzungsberichte der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Kl. f. Phil., Gesch. u. Philol. 1910, no. 5 (Prague: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1911); Václav Novotný, "V předešlém sešitě . . ." *ČČH* 17 (1911): 361–363.

[610] *Über die Gründung des Klosters Sazawa*, edited by Bertold Bretholz, *MGH* SRG N.S. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), chap. 1, 242–252, 244: "Facta ergo celebri promotione dux Bracizlaus primo quidem donationem, quam pater suus eidem patri adhuc ante susceptionem abbatie fecerat, flumen videlicet subterfluens a Milobuz usque ad speluncam, que vulgo Zacolnici dicitur, cum pratis et silva circumiacente, principali roboravit auctoritate. Deinde etiam hanc enadem donationem supervenientibus heredibus et eam suo iuri usurpative vendicare molientibus, nolens paterna cassare statuta semet opposuit, litem diremit et eidem patri Procopio omnem utilitatem in aqua et silva a predictis terminis redonavit, agros et prata ex utraque parte adiacentia sub testimonio et confirmatione filii sui Wratizlai et principum suorum sexcentorum denariorum precio redemit et abbati Procopio scriptis et legitimis testibus reconsignavit. Ad extremum quoque ex propria largitione terram, que circa est, usque ad silvam Strnouic nec non et villam Zcramnik et unum stagnum et structuram lignorum ad piscandum centum denariis comparatam eidem abbati et suis

in the opposition on the part of the "heirs"—*heredes*, who felt damaged by the donation. The prince, however, resisted their claims, restored the original donation and settled with the "heirs" to the amount of 600 denars. Whether the prince only compensated the "heirs"[611] or in fact actually bought them out[612] remains an unanswered question. However, the case illustrates the fact that the prince's decision was in need of confirmation by foremen and that the prince was not at liberty to ignore the locals' claims and rights to a given tract of land. In a conflict, the prince was required to reach consensus.[613] Neither the fact that the *heredes* may have perceived their relationship to the land as limited thanks to the requirement to pay taxes nor the fact that the prince could—for the same reasons—pose as the owner of the entire country, as pointed out by Dušan Třeštík, apparently made any difference in terms of their respective rights.

Another link between the Přemyslids and their *Bohemi* were coins. *Denarii* were minted in Bohemia mostly by Přemyslids from 960 or 970[614] and from 1020 until the thirteenth century, the obverse was reserved for St Wenceslas. Not only the ideology of Přemyslid coinage,[615] but also the fact that the coins as a medium of exchange personified the ducal authority, confirms their importance for creating the princely power in Czech lands.[616] Also the *tributum pacis* we discussed above was expressed in *denarii*.

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successoribus pro remedio anime sue in perpetuum possidenda contradidit". This account is probably based on earlier sources, see above, pp. 224–227.

[611] Sommer, *Svatý Prokop*, 121.

[612] Libor Jan, "Skrytý půvab 'středoevropského modelu'," *ČČH* 105 (2007): 873–902, at 886–887. Indeed, the entire issue hinges on our understanding of medieval ownership and its permanence. Šmelhaus, *Kapitoly z dějin předhusitského zemědělství*, 3–10, comparing the *Henryków Book* from 13th century Silesia with early medieval documents from Bohemia and Moravia, concluded that "heirs" resided on and managed princely property. They were lent uncultivated soil and tasked with improving the estate; in case they failed to cut down trees and used the land only passively, the prince was free to do as he pleased with his own property. If—on the other hand—work was to be carried out, improving a given tract of land, entitlement to compensation arose; this explains the 600 denars in the Sázava region. He proceeds especially from Václav Vaněček, *Sedláci dědici: Historicko-právní studie*, Práce ze seminářů právnické fakulty Karlovy university v Praze 3 (Prague: Bursík a Kohout, 1926). Their works have not been taken into consideration in the recent discusssion.

[613] Compare Hans-Werner Goetz, "Herrschaft und Recht in der frühmittelalterlichen Grundherrschaft," *HJb* 104 (1984): 392–410.

[614] Zdeněk Petráň, *První české mince* (Prague: Set out, 1998).

[615] Anežka Merhautová and Dušan Třeštík, *Ideové proudy v českém umění 12. století*, Studie ČSAV, řada společenskovědní, no. 2 (Prague: Academia, 1985); compare for Carolingians Ildar H. Garipzanov, "The Image of Authority in Carolingian Coinage: The Ruler and Roman Empire," *EME* 8 (1999): 197–218.

[616] Jan Klápště, "Příspěvek k archeologickému poznávání úlohy mince v přemyslovských Čechách," *Archeologické rozhledy* 51 (1999): 774–808.

Although producing a convincing model of the workings of the early Přemyslid society in Bohemia and Moravia has so far proved impossible, the existence of an autonomous, hereditary elite equipped with immovable property in the eleventh century has been confirmed. Moreover, turning to the definition set out at the beginning of our investigation, this elite may be labelled aristocracy. Any notions of an early Přemyslid monarchy functioning as a strictly centralised state may also be cast aside: source evidence has proved insufficient and, moreover, the hypothesis is refuted by both Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon analogies. Despite a capacity for applying direct violence on occasion or putting on a show of power and in spite of a certain internal coherence, the power of an early medieval monarch and his "officials" was derived from their capability for mediating between conflicting parties and settling disputes rather than on forcefully imposing their version of the law. This also means that if the cohesion of this early medieval Bohemian and Moravian aristocracy was preserved, its strength as a social group allowed it to rule the land with its prince.

Returning to the issue of labels used to describe the highest tiers of society in various sources affords opportunities for further, more broadly conceived considerations. In addition to leading positions in the kingdom, proximity to the king and emphasis on the inheritability of obtained rank, early medieval sources also offer a different type of designation, associated with qualities held in high regard at the time: beauty, height, age and wisdom. Sources thus feature an implicit tendency to support the aristocracy's leading role by emphasising personal qualities in addition to hereditary ones. Although the status of a particular person was factually determined by the position or rank held by their parents, sources tend to obscure the issue with references to the positive qualities and predispositions afforded by birthright (inherited social, symbolic and cultural capital).[617] It should be noted that the relevant stereotypes reflected in

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[617] The social, symbolic and cultural capital are understood in the sense as Pierre Bourdieu, see Bourdieu, *Teorie jednání*, 81, 131. It can be als regarded as the "charisma" in Weberian terms, see Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 140–148 (on charismatic authority and its routinization). On its interpretation, see at least Andreas Kalyvas, "Charismatic Politics and the Symbolic Foundations of Power in Max Weber," New German Critique 85 (2002): 67–103, at 71–74, 75–90; see also overview od viewpoints in Marek Loužek, *Max Weber* (Prague: Karolinum, 2005), 313–315, 440–445. There is only a quantitative difference between the "routinizing charisma" of an institution and the revolutionary charisma of a person. It is the total of both that determines a real power of a person in a given society. But in a charismatic authority, personal charisma dominates, whereas in other types of authority the main role play institutions, that is, institutionalized charisma, hidden and accumulated in them. On Bourdieu, see Gerhard Göhler and Rudolf Speth, "Symbolische

language (and thus in thought) are traceable to this day: when referring to the "*upper* component of society", one freely uses designations such as "*better* people" or "*high*-ranking person".

4. *The Origins of Ecclesiastical Organisation in the Czech Lands*

Naturally, we cannot say that the church and the realm were identical in the early middle ages. However, the boundaries between the these two powers were hardly as strict as they came to be in modern times.[618] Also the role of church organisation was indisputable in the processes that led to the strengthening of the central power. It is thus necessary for this work to focus on a number of key issues associated with the Christianisation of the Czech lands, namely the formation of the church organisation in Bohemia and Moravia and its ties among the papacy, the Holy Roman empire and Přemyslid princes.[619]

Generally the *loci* in the early medieval sources on one side portray baptism as natural consequence of God's will. On the other side we can

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Macht: Zur institutionstheoretischen Bedeutung von Pierre Bourdieu," in *Institution und Ereignis: Über historische Praktiken und Vorstellungen gesellschaftlichen Ordnens*, edited by Reinhard Blänker and Bernhard Jussen, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 138 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1998), 17–48. For strategies of transferring social status and its consolidation, see Cf. at least Jussen, "Liturgie und Legitimation," 75–136; Jussen, "Über 'Bischofsherrschaften'," 673–718. On using the notion "holy man", as defined by Peter Brown, and on an attempt to prove transportation of his power into the holy monastic space, see Albrecht Diem, "Monks, Kings, and the Transformation of Sanctity: Jonas of Bobbio and the End of the Holy Man," *Speculum* 82 (2007): 521–559.

[618] Mayke de Jong, "The State of the Church: *ecclesia* and early medieval state formation", in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat*, 241–255. In the following text, Christianization means a process of spreading of formal acceptance of Christian doctrine and its rules, that is, rather a certain form of disciplination, and not necessarily acceptance of values of this religion, see Lutz von Padberg, *Mission und Christianisierung: Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachsen und Franken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995); Ian Wood, *Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (Harlow: Longman, 2001). About the christianisation of Czech lands from archeological and historical point of views, cf. the excellent introduction written by Petr Somer, *Začátky křesťanství v Čechách: Kapitoly z dějin raně středověké duchovní kultury* (Prague: Garamond, 2001). See also Zdeňka Krumphanzlová, "Chronologie pohřebního inventáře vesnických hřbitovů 9.–11. věku v Čechách," *PA* 65 (1974): 34–110; "Počátky křesťanství v Čechách ve světle archeologických pramenů," *PA* 62 (1971): 406–456. About the problem of change of the burial rite and its possible relation to Christianisation, see the skeptical remarks of Zdeňka Krumphanzlová, "Der Ritus der slawischen Skelettfriedhöfe der mittleren und jüngeren Burgwallzeit in Böhmen," *PA* 57 (1966): 277–327; Ivo Štefan, "Změna pohřebního ritu v raném středověku jako archeologický a kulturně-antropologický problém," *AR* 59 (2007): 805–836.

[619] Se also the chapter II. 4.

feel how fragile the princely power could have been in this moment. Scarce sources indicate that it is possible to place the initial appearance of Christianity in Bohemia in the mid-ninth century. However, very little actual evidence is available.[620] Christian's account of Bořivoj's Moravian baptism, well-received in the Latin-Bohemian literature of the Middle Ages, only appeared over a century after the actual event.[621] In view of the prolonged duration of the Christianisation process,[622] the credibility of the actual tradition loses much of its importance, all the more so since written sources and modern historians and archaeologists all agree that the following generation—i.e. Bořivoj's sons—was already busy building churches.[623]

Nevertheless, references to priests at work in the Czech lands are few and far between. Once again, the *Legenda Christiani* is the only source to mention a Moravian priest, Kaich,[624] being sent out and the other sources mention also priest Pavel, friend to St. Ludmila.[625] Reports of an archpriest—and by extension of an archpresbyteriat—hint at least some level

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[620] *Annales Fuldenses ad A. 845*, 35: "Hludowicus XIIII ex ducibus Boemanorum cum hominibus suis christianam religionem desiderantes baptizari iussit";...; Most recently, see Dušan Třeštík, "The Baptism of the Czech Princes in 845 and the Christianization of the Slavs," Historica N.S. 32, no. 2 (1995, published in 1997): 7–59. In contrast, Moravia was already at that time denoted as "a region of uncultivated Christianity of the tribe of the Moravians", see *Concilium Moguntinum ad A. 852*, in: *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, edited by Alfred Boretius, *MGH* LL, Capitularia regum Francorum 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1897), chap. 11, no. 249, 189: "Albigis, qui uxorem atrichi publice auferens ad extremos fines regni duxit in rudem adhuc christianitatem gentis Maraensium et crimine adulterii ecclesiam Christi diffamavit, . . ."

[621] *Legenda Christiani*, ed. Ludvíkovský, chap. 2, 18–20.

[622] Some parallels might be found in the regions where the process of Christianization also took place and is reflected in sources of that time. It concerns some Anglo-Saxon as well as Scandinavian regions (e.g. Normandy or Denmark). And it was Normandy where the Vikings mixed with local, previously Christianized inhabitants. This analogy can at least make it possible to consider approximately one century as a minimum length of this process.

[623] It is not possible to specify a number of churches in early medieval Bohemia, for many churches might have been wooden and thus hardly detectable by means of archaeological methods, see Petr Sommer, "Raněstředověká 'ecclesia lignea' a archeologie," in *Z pravěku do středověku: Sborník k 70. narozeninám doc. PhDr. Vladimíra Nekudy, DrSc.*, edited by Pavel Michna, Rostislav Nekuda, and Josef Unger (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost: Moravské zemské muzeum, 1997), 276–278.

[624] This fact is mentioned only in the late *Legenda Christiani*, ed. Ludvíkovský, chap. 2, 20.

[625] *Legenda Christiani*, ed. Ludvíkovský, chap. 3, 32; *Passio s. Vencezlai incipiens verbis Crescente fide christiana: Recensio bavarica*, edited by Josef Emler, *FRB* 1 (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1873), 183–190. (If not stated otherwise, it is this recension that is quoted in the following text.), chap. 3, 185.

of organisation in the tenth century Bohemian church.[626] The most ancient of legends also point out its subordination to the Bishop of Regensburg.[627]

Only in the 970s was a diocese formed in Bohemia and a second restored in Moravia. The particular events surrounding its emergence are not quite clear, although Přemyslid influence seems to comprise the only common denominator. The situation is difficult to explain due to the existence of a number of diverse medieval sources, each presenting a different set of factors as decisive. This is why researchers, many of them motivated by nationalistic aims, oscillate between celebrating the Ottonians—credited with the Christianisation of the Eastern "barbarians"—and emphasizing the prominence of independent church policies set up by local princes with the support of the pope.[628] The evaluation of individual sources was naturally closely associated with the above mentioned issues: the early eleventh century *Life of St. Wolfgang*, Bishop of Regensburg,[629] a letter ascribed to Pope John XIII (965–972)—but preserved only in Cosmas's

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[626] Dušan Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství v letech 968–976: Pražská a řezenská tradice," in *Vlast a rodný kraj v díle historika: Sborník prací žáků a přátel věnovaných profesoru Josefu Petráňovi*, edited by J. Pánek (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 2004), n. 19. *Crescente fide*, ed. Ludvíkovský, chap. 3, 59, mentions the house of *maioris Pauli presbyteri*.

[627] Relations of the Czech Church to the Imperial Church have not been analysed in detail so far. The exception is brief comments in František Graus, "Böhmen zwischen Bayern und Sachsen," *Historica* 17 (1969): 5–42, at 18–22. That is why I intend to deal with this issue in a work whose main purpose would be St Wenceslas cult in the (Holy) Roman Empire.

[628] Of earlier works, see at least Josef Kalousek, "Kontroversy souvislé se založením biskupství Pražského," *ČČH* 1 (1895): 75–86; Hans Spangenberg, "Die Gründung des Bistums Prag," *HJb* 21 (1900): 758–775; Karl Uhlirz, "Die Errichtung des Prager Bistums," *MVGDB* 39 (1900): 1–10; Wilhelm Schulte, "Die Gründung des Bistums Prag," *HJb* 22 (1901): 285–297; Karl Beer, "Zur Gründung des Prager Bistums," *MVGDB* 49 (1911): 205–216; Novotný, *Od nejstarších dob*, 583–592, 609–611; August Naegle, *Kirchengeschichte Böhmens*, vol. 1.2 (Vienna: Braumüller, 1918), 385–517; Robert Holtzmann, "Böhmen und Polen im 10. Jahrhundert: Eine Untersuchung zur ältesten Geschichte Schlesiens," *ZfGASch* 52 (1918): 1–37; Robert Holtzmann, "Die Urkunde Heinrichs IV. für Prag vom Jahre 1086: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gründung des Bistums Prag und seines Verhältnisses zum Bistum Mähren," *AfUF* 6 (1918): 177–193; Fiala, "Dva kritické příspěvky," 56–63; Heinrich Büttner, "Erzbischof Willigis von Mainz und das Papsttum bei der Bistumserrichtung in Böhmen und Mähren im 10. Jahrhundert," *RhVjBll* 30 (1965): 1–22; Jaroslav Kadlec, "Auf dem Wege zum Prager Bistum: Zur Vorgeschichte seiner Gründung," in *Geschichte der Ost- und Westkirche in ihren wechselseitigen Beziehungen: Acta Congressus historiae Slavicae Salisburgensis in memoriam SS. Cyrilli et Methodii anno 1963 celebrati*, edited by Franz Zagiba. Annales Instituti Slavici 1.3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), 29–45; Peter Hilsch, "Der Bischof von Prag und das Reich in sächsischer Zeit," *DA* 28 (1972): 1–41.

[629] *Othloni Vita sancti Wolkangi episcopi*, edited by Georg Waitz, *MGH* SS 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), chap. 29, 538.

Chronica Boëmorum,[630] and a charter by emperor Henry IV (1056–1106) dating to 1086.[631]

Dušan Třeštík has recently embarked on a new analysis of this issue, concluding that it was Boleslav I in cooperation with Mieszko who turned to the Pope.[632] The attempt was unsuccessful due to resistance on the part of Bishop Michael of Regensburg. Moreover, he *de facto* blocked the restoration of the Moravian diocese as well. Progress was only made with the help of Emperor Otto I (936–973) when Bishop Wolfgang came to power. However, the success of the entire plan hinged on Henry II the Wrangler Duke of Bavaria and the compensation he owed to the Bishop of Regensburg. However, due to Henry's hesitation to agree with the compensation proceedings, the process was delayed and eventually put on hold entirely when he rebelled against the king, supported by Boleslav I (935–972) and Mieszko (960s–992). Bishop Pilgrim allegedly also opposed the restoration of the Moravian diocese, albeit unsuccessfully. Not until January 976—thanks to reconciliation between Otto and Henry—did the issuing of an imperial charter conclude the project: the Regensburg diocese was compensated and the ordination of the bishops of Prague and Moravia was given the go-ahead.

Nevertheless, this recent analysis still leaves issues open and questions unanswered. As proposed by Třeštík, it is Henry II the Wrangler, cousin to Otto II (973–983), and nephew of Otto I (936–973) who must be considered the key figure. Otloh, a Regensburg monk, mentions Henry II in connection with the foundation of the Prague diocese in his Legend of Bishop Wolfgang.[633] He writes that Henry II in league with a number of other magnates advocated the foundation of the Bohemia diocese. Otloh in fact credits him with exclusive merit to its foundation. While this was hardly the case, his participation in dealings with the Emperor cannot be denied. After all, Dušan Třeštík does not doubt this. However, he perceives the figure of the Duke of Bavaria as playing a double role: at first, he appears as one directly responsible for compensating the Regensburg

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[630] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.22, 43–44.

[631] *Diplomata Heinrici IV.*, vol. 2, no. 390, 515–517.

[632] Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství," 179–196.

[633] *Othloni Vita Wolkangi*, chap. 29, 538: /Ota/ "a glorioso duce Heinrico ceterisque fijidelibus est interpellatus, ut quod apud ipsam gentem inchoatum esset, pro Domini amore regali potestate perageret." On Otloh, see at least Karl F. Morrison, "The Structure of Holliness in Otloh's Vita Bonifatii and Ebo's Vita Ottonis," in Karl F. Morrison, Holiness and Politics in Early Medieval Thought (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), 135–143.

diocese.[634] Later on, his role diminishes to that of mere formal intermediary listed in the imperial charter of Otto II (973–983) compensating Regensburg for losses caused by the establishment of the Prague diocese.[635] According to Dušan Třeštík, the charter must have been issued in the second half of 975: the first Bishop of Prague—Thietmar—was ordained at the beginning of the following year.[636]

This, however, is unacceptable: Henry rebelled against his cousin the emperor in 974[637] and—following his surrender in September and due to pressure on the part of Otto's mediators—was interned in Ingelheim.[638] He thus fell out of favour thus no longer intervened in any charter issued by Otto II (973–983). What did intervention in such a document mean? Apart from indicating close ties to the court and connoting good relations with the emperor or king, it frequently suggested that parties participating in "formal intervention" actually took active part. Either way, Henry II was unable to intervene in any way following the events of June 974; his influence with the court was voided for a long time to come. With respect to the Bavarian tradition, it must be concluded that Henry II must have intervened on Boleslav's behalf prior to this date.

Moreover, in Henry's case, acknowledging this assumption might be acceptable for other reasons: the weakening of the Bavarian episcopacy did not collide with his interests in any way—quite the contrary.[639] Henry may have attempted to establish a strong ducal power, but he could not

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[634] Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství," 193.

[635] Ibid., 193.

[636] Ibid., 191–192, 194.

[637] *Diplomata Ottonis II.*, edited by Theodor Sickel, *MGH* DD 2.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), no. 80, 96. In the charter of May 28, 974 issued in Allstedt, Henry II is still presented as an intervenient. *Annales Altahenses Maiores ad A. 974*, 11: "Eodem anno Heinricus dux Bawariorum et Abraam episcopus inierunt consilium cum Bolizlavone et Misigone, quomodo imperatori suum regnum disperderent; et hoc quidem tam infaeliciter fuit disputatum, ut, si divina miseratio non provideret et insuper ingenium Berahtoldi non disperderet, pene tota Europa destituta atque deleta esset".

[638] Not 975. This corresponds with the mentions in the few sources—such as the *Annales Altahenses Maiores ad A. 974*, 12—which date the revolt, Emperor's delegation and Henry's capitulation to the year 974. Henry's imprisonment is dated to the same year in *Annales Hildesheimenses ad. A. 974*, 23. Similarly in *Thietmari Chronicon* 3.5 (3), 100. Cf. *Lamperti Annales ad A. 974*, 42. See also Hans L. Mikoletzky, *Regesta Imperii*, vol. 2.2, *Otto II., 955 (973)–983* (Vienna: Rohrer, 1950), no. 667b, 299, who dates the negotiations with Henry as early as to the end of June 974. Cf. Karl Uhlirz, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Otto II. und Otto III.*, vol. 1, *Otto II., 973–983* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1902), 54. This author puts Henry's capitulation to September 974.

[639] On a quite view, see Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství," 192.

count on receiving any support from the bishops.[640] In fact, they were
already busy supporting his cousin Emperor Otto. To wit: during the upris-
ings Henry organised, all Bavarian Bishops—with the exception of Henry's
acquaintance Bishop Abraham (957–994)—sided with King Otto.

However, this leads to yet another paradox: according to Třeštík, all
the obstructions to the establishment of the new diocese collapsed with
the accession of Bishop Wolfgang. Neither the Pope, the Emperor, nor the
Bishop of Regensburg resisted. In view of what has been established previ-
ously, Henry—intervening at Boleslav's court—could not have opposed
it either. According to Dušan Třeštík, the smooth development of events
was only disrupted by Henry's revolt of June 974.

Why then, if—as early as midway through 973—agreement with the
establishment of a new diocese was universal, was no bishop ordained
then? In Prague, a new bishop was generally ordained shortly after the death
of the previous one; this was essentially the same case. Třeštík attempted
to explain the paradox by alluding to the protracted establishment of
a new archdiocese in Magdeburg.[641] However, the issues encountered
when founding the Magdeburg metropolis were not of operational
character. Most were due to the Bishop of Hildesheim and Metropolitan
of Mainz radically opposing the establishment of a new archdiocese for
fear of losing influence and power. Therefore, delays in establishing the
Prague diocese are also most likely to be associated with objections on the
part of the bishop responsible for Bohemia, i.e. Bishop Wolfgang.

According to Otloh's *Life of Wolfgang*, composed in the middle of the
eleventh century, Wolfgang was born in Swabia.[642] He first attempted to
embark on a mission in Pannonia, but was promptly transferred to the
see at Regensburg by order of the powerful Bishop Pilgrim of Passau.[643]
Once in Regensburg, Wolfgang set out to improve existing relationships
in the local chapter as well as at St. Emmeram's Abbey, associated with

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[640] On his reign, see Hubert Seibert, "Bavvarica regna gubernans: Heinrich der Zänker
und das Herzogtum Bayern, 955–995," in *Von Sachsen bis Jerusalem: Menschen und Insti-
tutionen im Wandel der Zeit; Festschrift für Wolfgang Giese zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by
Hubertus Seibert and Gertrud Thoma (Munich: Utz, 2004), 123–141.

[641] On this issue cf. at least Gerd Althoff, *Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stutt-
gart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 118–136. The power of bishop's opposition is clearly reflected in
the case of the foundation of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, see Hehl, "Widerspenstige
Bischof," 295–344.

[642] *Othloni Vita sancti Wolkangi*, chap. 11, 530. On him, see the litareture referred to in
Max G. Kellner, "Wolfgang, Bischof von Regensburg," in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kir-
chenlexikon* 13 (1998): cols. 1528–1529, http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/w/wolfgang_v_r.shtml.

[643] Ibid., chap. 14, 531.

the diocese.[644] Wolfgang then separated the abbey from the diocese and—sometime during 975—appointed the reformer Ramwold abbot.[645]

Only in the following chapter does Otloh go on to describe conditions in Bohemia and the state of Bohemian Christianity, mentioning how the gracious Bishop Wolfgang, unlike his stubborn precursor, granted a *placet* necessary for the establishment of the Prague diocese. Otloh mentions no protractions but does not provide a time-frame regarding the negotiations. It is essential to note that Otloh was not concerned with providing a detailed and chronologically correct account of the foundation of the Prague diocese but was instead interested in celebrating the figure of Bishop Wolfgang himself; the order of individual episodes and chapters is thus largely arbitrary. The remark regarding Wolfgang's approval comprised only one point of the *laudatio*—a lengthy depiction of the negotiations would be inappropriate. Hence, the *Vita Wolkangi* does not rule out a concept which sees the issue as resolved later on either.

However, in the case that negotiations with the Bishop of Regensburg were truly extensive, then the overly positive attitude on the part of Emperor Otto I and his son and heir towards establishing a new diocese—as presented by Dušan Třeštík[646]—may be called into question. His thesis would collide with our substantiated hypothesis which maintains that the founding of a new diocese was opposed not only by the old Bishop Michael of Regensburg but initially also by Bishop Wolfgang, appointed sometime in 972.[647] Had the emperors sided with Boleslav, they would have easily forced Wolfgang to concede prior to his appointment to the diocese see in 972.[648] Wolfgang's refusal to grant approval therefore indicates that around 973 both the young Emperor Otto II and his father also

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[644] Ibid., chap. 14, 531; chap. 15–21, 532–536.

[645] *Annales S. Emmerammi minores*, edited by Georg Waitz *MGH* SS 13 (Hannover: Hahn, 1881), 47: "Ramnoldus a s. Wolfkango ordinatur abbas."; On other sources, see Uhlirz, *Otto II.*, 67, n. 20.

[646] Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství," 191–193. In this case, Dušan Třeštík proceeds from Henry IV's charter in which the origins of the Bishopric of Prague are connected with Emperor, see *Diplomata Heinrici IV.*, no. 390, 516: ". . . quod Pragensis episcopatus, qui ab inicio per totum Boemie ac Moravie ducatum unus et integer constitutus est et tam a papa Benedicto quam a primo Ottone imperatore sic confirmatus est . . ."

[647] See above, n. 669–670.

[648] In this place it is worth mentioning the method by which Otto I managed to eliminate the opposition of bishops of Hildesheim in the course of the foundation of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg or the archbishop of Magdeburg in trying to reestablish the Bishopric of Merseburg. Like in the previous cases, Wolfgang would have been appointed under the condition that he would not have been against exemption of the new diocese from his power.

opposed the establishment of the new diocese. The reasons for adopting this stance shall be clarified later on during an attempt at resolving the key question itself.

Directing our attention to another tradition about the begining of Prague bishopric, a number of new questions arise. Dušan Třeštík generally emphasizes this tradition as represented by the Charter of Henry IV. However, while accepting the mention of Emperor Otto, he completely disregards a note on Pope Benedict.[649] Since both this document as well as the *Chronica Boëmorum* associate him with the first Emperor Otto, it has been generally assumed that they refer to Benedict VI (19 January 973—July 974), whose pontificate marginally overlapped with the rule of Otto I (936–973). Yet, should this hypothesis be regarded as acceptable, it becomes rather difficult to explain why the *Chronica Boëmorum* associates him with St. Adalbert—then roughly twenty years old and studying in Magdeburg.[650] Likewise, it is somewhat difficult to find an explanation for claims stating that the Prague diocese was in charge of administering both Bohemia and Moravia from the very beginning.[651] No matter that a mention of a Moravian Bishop made in 976 is thus rendered false. Moreover, an account of the unification of the two dioceses during the pontificate of St. Adalbert has been recorded in Olomouc.[652] Likewise, it is unclear why Benedict VI (19 January 973—July 974) should be asked to approve of the new diocese since—according to Dušan Třeštík—Boleslav had already secured approval from his precursor. Henry's document thus likely refers to Benedict VII (October 974—10 July 983) whose approval—rather than allowing St. Adalbert (ordained in early June 983) to establish a new diocese—enabled him to

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[649] Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství," 181, 188–189, 191. Cf. *Diplomata Heinrici IV.*, no. 390, 516: "...quod Pragensis episcopatus, qui ab inicio per totum Boemie ac Moravie ducatum unus et integer constitutus est et tam a papa Benedicto quam a primo Ottone imperatore sic confirmatus est".

[650] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.37, 135: "...privilegium...olim a sancto Adalberto episcopo, suo antecessore, confirmatum tam a papa Benedicto, quam a primo Ottone imperatore..."; See also Hrubý, "Původní hranice," 87–88, n. 1. The author found out that there is a link between the formulation of Henry's charter and Cosmas' text. Richter, "O středověké architektuře na Moravě," 1–84, here "Problémy 10. věku" at 46–84. At pp. 48–49, he explains the term confirmatum as "charter".

[651] On analogies on these „initial" formulations, see below, pp. 81–97, within an analysis of the charter.

[652] *Granum catalogi ad A. 971*, 66: "Tempore sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopis secundi anno episcopatus sui tercio Moraviensis episcopatus Pragensi episcopio Benedicti pape VII Othonisque imperatoris secundi confirmacione et pii Boleslai ducis consensu accedente usque ad tempora Severi episcopi Pragensis sexti et Vratislai ducis Boemie fuit unitus."; On the importance of this account, see Kalhous, "Granum catalogi."

unite the two bishoprics.[653] The reference to Otto I is merely a case of confusing father and son, an understandable mistake made by Otloh and as such presumed by Dušan Třeštík.[654] It is more than evident that we are dealing with two Prague doctrines. However, while both refer to the founding of the Prague diocese, they essentially address different questions: whereas one discusses the establishment of the Prague diocese, the other considers its later unification with the Moravian diocese, possibly unoccupied at the time.

In 973, the creation of the new diocese was hardly an arranged matter: both Bishop Wolfgang and the new emperor—Otto II—were in all probability opposed. Some of the evidence cited in support of the notion discussed and rejected above most likely concerns a very different event— the unification of the Prague and Moravian dioceses, taking place approximately in the mid 980s.

Having rejected some parts of the recently suggested solution, we will now attempt to demonstrate that—based on the very same sources—it is possible to create a different, more consistent image of the emergence of the Prague diocese.

It was probably Boleslav I (935–972) who initiated negotiations with the curia, at least according to a letter by John XIII (965–972), presented in the *Chronica Boëmorum*.[655] Boleslav must have come forth with his son-in-law Mieszko I (960s-992), as both Bohemian and Polish sources associate the year 968 with the ordination of the first Polish bishop.[656] This

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[653] See already Schulte, "Die Gründung des Bistums Prag," 293–297. But this author believed that there were two charters, the one by Otto I and Benedict VI, the other by Otto II and Benedict VII. In a similar fashion, see already Jaroslav Bakala, "K úloze českých zemí při počátcích christianizace Polska," *Prace i materiały Muzeum archeologicznego i etnograficznego w Łodźi*, Seria archeologiczna 14 (1967): 35–53, at 42–46.

[654] Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství," 191.

[655] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.22, 43–44. By its form, the letter does not correspond with the practice of the 10th-century papal chancery, see *Papsturkunden*, vol. 1, no. 181, 355–357. But this cannot be a decisive argument, if one takes into account its preservation. On its originality, cf. Rostislav Nový, "K zakládací listině pražského biskupství," in *Traditio et cultus: Miscellanea Historica Bohemica Miloslao Vlk archiepiscopo Pragensi ab eius collegis amicisque ad annum sexagesimum dedicata*, edited by Zdeňka Hledíková (Prague: Karolinum, 1993), 13–19; Josef Veselský, "K pravosti listu Jana XIII. v Kosmově kronice," *LF* 111 (1988): 76–82; Hrubý, "Původní hranice," 144–147, n. 1; Max Dvořák, *O listině papeže Jana XIII. v Kosmově kronice*, VKČSN, třída filos.-hist.-jaz. 1899, no. 12 (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1900).

[656] *Annales Bohemici*, edited by Josef Emler. *FRB* 2 (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1875), *ad A. 968*, 380: *Polonia cepit habere episcopum.*; See also probably the most convincing work Gerard Labuda, "Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce w drugiej połowie X wieku i kościelne znaczenie zjazdu gnieźnieńskiego w roku 1000," in Gerard Labuda, *Studia nad*

hypothesis in turn enables us to set Mlada's diplomatic mission to the curia sometime prior to the year 968.[657]

Not only did Boleslav I struggle to establish a new diocese in Prague, he was probably also interested in renewing the church organisation in Moravia. However, this assumption is only indirect—the only piece of evidence supporting the hypothesis is a document of 976 by the Archbishop of Mainz in which an unknown Moravian Bishop is named.[658] In view of the original independence of the Moravian church organisation, it may be argued that its renewal did indeed coincide with the foundation of the new Prague diocese, likewise subordinated to Mainz.[659]

Nonetheless, the Pope's approval was insufficient with respect to Prague since Bohemia was subject to the power of Michael, Bishop of Regensburg—who refused to grant his approval. Moreover, as noted above, the sentiments held by Otto I are likewise somewhat unclear.

The ordination of a new bishop failed to bring about any noticeable change in Regensburg. Wolfgang was presented with a host of different

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początkami państwa polskiego, vol. 2 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1988), 426–526.

[657] E.g. Labuda, "Studia nad początkami," 72–77. The author claims that also Mieszko addressed directly Rome—through Mlada-Marie—and that he did not use an imperial mediator.

[658] Most recently *Urkundenbuch des Stifts St. Peter und Alexander zu Aschaffenburg*, vol. 1, 861–1325, edited by Matthias Thiel (Aschaffenburg: Pattloch, 1986), no. 8, 37: "Quapropter auctoritate ipsius (of the pope) astipulantibus quoque assesoribus nostris venerabilibus episcopis Spirensi, Warmaciensi, Pragensi, Moraviensi pro manifesto parricidio Gozmarum ab officio et beneficio deposuimus . . ."; The charter was probably in the mid-twelfth century forged, as numerous dissimilarities in terminology indicate. But its narratio is regarded as genuine, including the mention of the Moravian bishop, see ibid., 28–29. In this sense, see also Dušan Třeštík, "Moravský biskup roku 976," in *Ad vitam et honorem: Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi přátelé a žáci k pětasedmdesátým narozeninám*, edited by Tomáš Borovský, Libor Jan, and Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matice moravská, 2004), 211–220. Another argument in favour of its originality may be the expression *moraviensis episcopus*, which is not common in the 14th century but is often used for the bishop of Olomouc, see Zdeněk Charouz, "Morava, moravský v písemných pramenech 9.–13. století," *Slovenská archivistika* 22 (1987): 97–113. It means the institution which may or may not have been vacant at that time and which probably survived from the Great Moravian period as a legal institution (not in a functional sense). Libor Jan, in contrast, supposes that then there was a functional Moravian bishopric, see Libor Jan, "Počátky moravského křesťanství a církevní správa do doby husitské," in *Vývoj církevní správy na Moravě: 27. mikulovské sympozium, 9.–10. října 2002*, edited by Emil Kordiovský and Libor Jan (Brno: Moravský zemský archiv, Státní okresní archiv, and Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 2003), 7–20, at 8–9. Recently on significant archaeological discoveries, see Josef Bláha, "Komunikace, topografie a importy ve středověku a v raném novověku (7.–17. století) na území města Olomouce," *AH* 23 (1998): 133–159.

[659] Similarly, see Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství," 193–194.

problems to resolve, most importantly a rather unpopular reform of the chapter and associated abbey; the last thing he wanted was only angering either the chapter or his influential intercessor by making rash decisions. Negotiations did continue, but—though supported by Henry II, Duke of Bavaria—Boleslav II still had little chance of success.

A year of negotiations later, the Bavarian bishops still could not be persuaded to give in, quite the contrary. The emperor's fear of losing direct influence over the Christianisation of the east may have been a factor. Thus the case was not resolved either prior to the Quedlinburg assembly of 973[660] or at the assembly itself.[661]

Sometime in 974, the rebellion of Henry II the Wrangler began. It was the climax of disputes between Bavarian duke Henry and a group of influential aristocrats from Bavaria and Swabia.[662] The protractions surrounding the founding of the Prague diocese may have played a role in forming Henry's attitude towards the Emperor. As Boleslav's intercessor, Henry could have been offended by the Emperor not heeding his words.[663] Boleslav I, Prince of Bohemia, and Mieszko I, his son-in-law and Prince of Poland, joined in the "rebellion".[664] Whether they acted out of loyalty to a friend or were instead driven by the Emperor's unenthusiastic attitude towards their own requests is hard to say. However, Boleslav was likely motivated in coming to Henry's aid by interests of his own: even after Henry was persuaded to submit to his cousin the Emperor in

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[660] Dušan Třeštík claims the opposite, cf. ibid., 192.

[661] On the Quedlinburg Assembly, see *Annales Hildesheimenses ad. A. 973*, 11: "Otdo imperator maior et filius eius Oto item imperator cum imperatricibus XIIII. Kal. April. Quidilingaburg venerunt, ibi diem paschalem celebrant, is contigit X. Kal. April. Illuc venere legati Graecorum Beneventorum cum muneribus, XII primates Ungarorum, Bulgariorum duo; etiam legati ducis Haroldi, quem putabant resistere imperatori, omnia sua deditioni Otonis subiciunt cum statuto vectigali. Boneszlawo [dux Sclavienus] regiis eum inumerabiliter donans illuc venit muneribus. Miszego etiam dux Sclavienus, terrore compulsus, filium mittit obsidem."; See also Thietmari Chronicon 2.31, 76; *Annales Altahenses Maiores ad A. 973*, 11.

[662] Its leading representatives were, among others, Bishops Ulrich of Augsburg and Pilgrim of Passau, see *Gerhardi Vita sancti Oudalrici episcopi*, edited by Georg Waitz, *MGH SS 4* (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), chap. 28, 416.

[663] Also e.g. Duke Conrad's reaction was similar, see *Widukindi Libri tres* 3.10, 110: Neque enim faciem regis intra tres dies videre promeruit. Quod agere ferens Cuonradus, qui eum adduxerat, unum que cum eo sentiens filius regis Liudulfus, suspectum super hac causa Heinricum fratrem regis habentes, quasi antiqua stimulatum invidia, devitaverunt eum.

[664] *Annales Altahenses Maiores ad A. 974*, 11: "Eodem anno Heinricus dux Bawariorum et Abraam episcopus inierunt consilium cum Bolizlavone et Misigone, quomodo imperatori suum regnum disperderent; et hoc quidem tam infaeliciter fuit disputatum, ut, si divina miseratio non provideret et insuper ingenium Berahtoldi non disperderet, pene tota Europa destituta atque deleta esset".

September, Boleslav II continued to fight for an additional year. And while
the Emperor did try to defeat Boleslav, plundering Bohemia in the process,[665]
his actions only succeeded in eliciting a counterattack,[666] aimed—among
other targets—at estates administered by the Passau diocese.[667]

Nevertheless, an agreement was finally reached. All parties relented in
their requirements, facilitating the ordination of Thietmar as first Bishop of
Prague in 976.[668] As certified by a deed dating to the same year, a Moravian
Bishop was present at the court proceedings.[669] The Bishop of Regensburg
received some estates from the Emperor as compensation and, what is
more, the Regensburg clergy succeeded in maintaining a hold of Prague:
some of them were allocated to the new chapter of St. George.[670]

The connection between Přemyslid attempts at reorganizing the church
organisation and the so-called Pilgrim forgeries remains unclear. At some
point in either 973 or 974, Pilgrim[671]—a very influential bishop and impe-

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[665] *Annales Altahenses Maiores ad. A. 975*, 13: "Eodem anno Otdo imperator Boemos con-
cremavit atque vastavit."; *Annales Weissenburgenses*, in *Lamperti Opera*, edited by Oswald
Holder-Egger, *MGH* SRG 38 (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1894), 43: "Domnus Otto impe-
rator habuit magnum conventum in Welmare. Eodem anno imperator Beheimos vastavit
et concremavit, et revertendo venit in Herisfelt."; *Lamperti Annales ad A. 975*, 42: "Otto
imperator habuit magnum conventum in Wehmare. Eodem anno imperator Beheimos
vastavit et concremavit."; The expedition must have taken place after June, 3, when Otto's
presence in Weimar is proved, see *Diplomata Ottonis II.*, no. 105, 119.

[666] *Annales Altahenses Maiores ad A. 975*, 13: "Boemanni familiam sancti Mauricii
(= Monks from Nieder Altaich) occiderunt."; *Annales Ottenburani ad A. 975. MGH* SS V. Ed.
G.H. Pertz (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), 4.

[667] A mention in the charter of October, 10, 977, points to this direction, see *Diplomata
Ottonis II.*, no. 167, 189–191. The document was issued in Etterzhausen at a supplication of
Pilgrim of Passau in favout of the Bishopric of Passau-Lorch, plundered by *pernitiosa Scla-
vorum invasio*. Cf. also Uhlirz, *Otto II.,* 63–64 and 99–100, n. 33. The author, however, does
not concur with the chronology in the *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, prefers an opposite
order and the Bohemian invasion dates before Otto's campaign. The same viewpoint, see
in Mikoletzky, *Regesta Imperii*, vol. 2.2, no. 700a–b, 311; Novotný, *Od nejstarších dob*, 593.

[668] *Catalogus episcoporum Argentinensium ad A. 976. MGH* SS XIII. Ed. G. Waitz (Han-
nover: Hahn, 1881), 323: "Cum Willigiso Moguntino archiepiscopo Gamenolfum Constan-
tiensis ecclesiae episcopum apud Erestheim. Cum eodem Dietmarum Bragensis ecclesiae
episcopum apud Bruchmagud."; August Naegle, *Kirchengeschichte Böhmens*, vol. 1.2, 456
determined a space of time on the basis of an itinerary, see; the same view is in Fiala, "Dva
kritické příspěvky," 60.

[669] See n. 686. It cannot be ruled out that he really resided in Olomouc, as recently
suggested Jan, "Počátky moravského křesťanství," 8–9. This possibility had already been
proposed earlier and continuity had been assumed e.g. in Turek, "Listina Jindřicha IV.,"
111–112. It is also possible that the bishopric was occupied already before 976, since legal
obstacles to its reestablishment were not as considerable as in the case of Prague.

[670] See a convincing solution in Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství," 184–185,
191–193.

[671] Pilgrim worked in the Imperial Chancery as the scribe Willigis C. He was responsible
for all charters for Passau from 970 to 985. His close relation to the court and his fidelity is

rial notary—launched a vigorous falsification campaign, directed not only against Salzburg,[672] but also in defence of "Moravian interests", i.e. the interests of Passau in Moravia and of Pannonia. Pilgrim's forgeries list Moravia and the local bishop as subordinate to the Lorschian metropolitan with the diocese in Passau his designated heir.[673] If (and only if) we accept a hypothesis indicating that Pilgrim's forgeries were also directed against the efforts of Boleslav I to command church authority in territories he controlled (or rather claimed he did), we might debate whether Boleslav's intentions were originally limited to establishing only two dioceses. Clearly, the fabrications produced by Pilgrim could not have been directed against the Moravian diocese since they mention it, albeit as subordinate to the Lorschian Archdiocese, the alleged predecessor to Passau. Nor could Prague and the local diocese possibly interfere with Pilgrim; in no way was it subject to his authority. The only explanation to the above assumption might be that Boleslav was not striving to restore one of the Moravian dioceses but rather an Archdiocese from around the year 900, i.e. Great Moravian times.[674] Only by putting this scheme into effect would he be capable of depriving the Bishop of Passau of his capacity to function in Pannonia and in other regions in which he was likewise interested. This would have been an understandable plan with respect to Boleslav, because the foundation of a diocese essentially dependent on the empire would hardly present a solution. There is in fact late tenth century evidence of the existence of a Bohemian tradition associated with

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reflected in the fact that he was appointed as a bishop at the intercession of the emperor and also that it was Passau which in first place came to be prey to military actions of Henry II of Bavaria during the rebellion of three Henries, see *Annales Hildesheimemenses ad A. 977*, 23: "Idem Heinricus cum consilio minoris Heinrici Pataviam civitatem invasit, ibique ab imperatore obsessus, et coactus sese subdidit imperatori". Also charters of July, 22, 976, prove his influence, see *Diplomata Ottonis II.*, no. 135–138, 151–156.

[672] *CDSl*, vol. 1, no. 4, 5–6 of 824–827; ibid., no. 42, 39–40 of 948; a genuine charter of 973–974, see ibid., no. 42, 39–40; ibid., no. 45, 44–45 of 973–974. Heinrich Fichtenau, "Zu den Urkundenfälschungen Pilgrims von Passau," in *Beiträge zur Mediävistik: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, vol. 2, *Urkundenforschung* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1977), 157–179dealt specifically with this question. More recently, see Richard Marsina, "Štúdie k slovenskému diplomatáru," pt. 1, *Historické štúdie* 16 (1971): 5–108; Heinrich Fichtenau, *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom 8. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, MIÖG Erg. Bd. 23 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1971), 122 and excursus 2.

[673] See the charters in previous footnote. Most clearly, see in *CDSl*, vol. 1, no. 4, 5–6, allegedly of 824–827.

[674] The assertion sketched below is beyond any doubt a hypothesis, since it cannot be proved by direct evidence of sources and depends on the interpretation of several indirect pieces of evidence. Its author, however, is convinced of its appropriateness.

Methodius' archdiocese.[675] A clue supporting these assumptions may be
found in a passage of a letter by John XIII which—though approving of
the establishment of the new diocese—pre-emptively deprecates the "rite
or sect of the Bulgarians or Russians or the Slavonic language"[676] and urges
adherence to "the orders of the apostles and decrees governing the entire
church".[677] However, this is little more than mere circumstantial evidence,
based on all too many uncertain premises. It is thus almost impossible to
determine how accurate the above assumptions may be. Whether or not
the Přemyslids did actually intend to reinforce their power by building
on the heritage of the Great Moravian church, this much is certain: they
did manage to establish a new diocese in Prague and most likely restore
the Moravian diocese as well. Reaching these accomplishments was any-
thing but easy: overcoming the resistance of the emperors and bishops
of Regensburg required a great deal of effort. As clearly documented in
later sources, Přemyslid attempts at elevating one of the local dioceses to
archdiocese were also rather unsuccessful.

Far from being relegated to a mere external representative and
church administrator, the bishop played an important role in support-
ing princely power. Direct relationship with an unknown Christian God
in itself imbued his office with considerable significance, as indicated by
interdicts found in the most ancient Bohemian deeds.[678] These certainly
played an important role, likely supplementing the prince's decisions with
additional authority, making it thus less dependent on the will of local
elites. Both prince and bishop thus functioned as authorities with similar
goals: strengthening their own power at the expense of local foremen by
means of controlling the appointment of clergy or with the help of "castle
administrators".[679] Gaining absolute control was not the point—rather, it

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[675] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 12–16. Its analysis, see charter II. 3. On the basis of the
same sources, D. Třeštík considers Bolelsav's use of Cyrillo-Methodian tradition as certain,
see Třeštík, "Sv. Vojtěch," 86–88. But he ponders only the Moravian Bishopric, according
to relevant sources.

[676] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.22, 44: ". . . ritus aut sectam Bulgarie gentis vel Ruzie, aut Sclavo-
nice lingue . . ."

[677] Ibid., 44: ". . . instituta et decreta apostolica unum pociorem tocius ecclesie . . ."

[678] E.g. *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 55, 59: "Ex his ergo omnibus quicunque diabolo suadente ali-
quid minoraverit penas cum eodem eternas sustinebit". Cf. also *Cosmae Chronica* 2.4, 87:
". . . Severus episcopus dixit: 'Anathema sit'. Et dux: 'Qui,' inquit, 'comprehensus fuerit . . .'"
Severus episcopus dixit: " 'Que dux iudicat, nostra auctoriats firmat.' "; A group of the ear-
liest charters of various Anglo-Saxon rulers, in which participation of the powerful and
bishop's confirmation play a crucial role, provides useful analogies, cf. http://www.aschart
.kcl.ac.uk/content/charters/text/s0001.html and the following.

[679] See above, pp. 126–127.

was essential to have the magnates recognize their sovereign authority by referring to the emperor or bishop in order to have their donations and church appointments confirmed. Episcopal organisation was, in this case, only one of the frameworks which strengthened the identity of Bohemians and Moravians as Christians under the pastoral care of bishops in Prague and Olomouc.

While the diocese was already in existence at the close of the tenth century, parish organisation only began to gradually develop during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, certain shifts in the structure of the Bohemian church—and in the thinking of the general population—are apparent from the relocation of graveyards to the church area at the turn of the twelfth century.[680] The disparate network of various proprietary churches owned by magnates and royal and diocese institutions with parish rights slowly began a transformation into a unified whole, controlled—at least in part—by the diocese.[681]

Tithes comprised an important source of income during the Middle Ages. Pavel Bolina is the most recent Czech historiographer to address the issue. His findings indicate that there were in fact two types of tithes in the Přemyslid domain, i.e. bishop's tithe—collected in coins—and "regular" tithe collected in the form of grain, as mentioned by Cosmas.[682] The church acquired further revenue from assigned villages and royal rentals. While these findings are not entirely new to historiographers, one aspect pointed out by Pavel Bolina is rather surprising indeed: church tithe, which was—at least theoretically—universally collected in the Early Middle Ages, was not introduced in the Czech lands until actually being imposed by the prince, replacing previous duties carried out by those liable. This finding is based on Cosmas's claim that tithes were to be paid by

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[680] Ivo Štefan and Ladislav Varadzín, "Počátky farní organizace v Čechách a na Moravě ve světle výpovědi archeologických pramenů," in *Církevní topografie a farní síť pražské církevní provincie v pozdním středověku*, edited by Jan Hrdina a Blanka Zilynská, Colloquia medievallia Pragensia 6 (Prague: Filosofia, 2007), 33–53, http://uprav.ff.cuni.cz.

[681] Most recently on this issue, see Libor Jan, "Die Anfänge der Pfarrorganisation in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter: Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich*, edited by Nathalie Kruppa and Leszek Zygner. Studien zur Germania Sacra 32 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2008), 183–199. Formation of ecclesiastical structures must have been an expensive process, already reformers in the Carolingian period throughout the empire attempted to reach a certain standard of equipment, more or less with success, see Charles Hammer, "Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria," *Church History* 49 (1980): 5–17.

[682] Pavel Bolina, "Příspěvek k interpretaci Kosmových desátkových údajů: K 880. výročí úmrtí kronikáře," *ČČH* 103 (2005): 828–860, 833–836.

"those holding allodium or fief"[683] and on a number of references associating the order to pay church tithes with relief from "corvée labour".[684] Pavel Bolina also supports his claims citing an appeal made by Bishop of Prague Andrew (1215–1223) to the Pope, mentioning failure to pay church tithe.[685] Complaints regarding failure to pay church tithes were common occurrences throughout the middle Ages. The rights of individual churches to collect them were, however, never really disputed. Andrew's complaints thus cannot be regarded as evidence of a rejection of the tithe principle, i.e. transferring a tenth of one's income to the parish church. In theory, nobody should have avoided paying tithe, because Cosmas's text may be interpreted accordingly: he claims that the bishop ordered tithes to be paid by "those holding allodium or fief".[686] He was not interested in differentiating between *allodium* and *pheodum,* he merely wanted to emphasise that the obligation was universal, simply asserting that this applied to everyone who owned at least one plot of land—regardless of ownership form.

Whether or not the tithes mentioned in the so-called Naklo's Amendment to the deed of the Hradisko monastery are in fact church tithes is unclear.[687] The same word was used to denote a one-tenth part of any income, regardless of the recipient. E.g. in the Frankish Empire, tenant farmers tilling church-owned soil were required to give up 20% of their income in favour of the church institution which owned the property in question and transfer it to the appropriate parish, all of this in addition to the usual tithe; this payment was labelled *nona et decima*.[688] As a result, Bolina's hypothesis cannot be accepted save his differentiation between diocese and common tithes.

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[683] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.39, 75: "...tantum qui de suo pheodo vel allodio araturam haberet..."; See Bolina, "Příspěvek," 836–838.

[684] Ibid., 838–840.

[685] Ibid., 841–842 on the basis of *CDB*, vol. 2, no. 172, 160–161: "Ad hec decimas secundum consuetudinem hactenus habitam solvemus et, sicubi non consueverunt, solvi de cetero faciemus secundum consuetudinem eandem".

[686] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.39, 75: "...tantum qui de suo pheodo vel allodio araturam haberet..."

[687] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 79, 83: "...Nakel ea conditione, ut qui eam inhabitare deliberant, tributum et decimas beato Stephano solvant, ceteris vero ad imperium ducis bella exercentibus sive urbem aut pontem parantibus seu qualibet necessitate laborantibus, quod prefati cenobii pater iusserit, faciant."

[688] Giles Constable, "Nona et Decima: An Aspect of Carolingian Economy," *Speculum* 35 (1960): 224–250.

In order to understand the initial appearance of Christianity (and the specific agency of ducal power in particular), it is crucial to understand the rise of the oldest chapters and monasteries in Bohemia and to map their most ancient properties.[689] The situation is complicated by several factors. Neither in the Holy Roman Empire nor in the Czech lands did charters play an important role prior to 1200. Moreover, no *libri traditionum* have been preserved either.[690] Documents listing the possessions held by a monastery or chapter often ascribe village and income share donations to individual persons; their verification, however, is more or less impossible. They are largely later forgeries: the tendency to connect the overall donations to the monastery with the figure of the donor is more than apparent.[691] Our position is weakened further by the fact that the originals of most of these documents and records have not been preserved. An act of 1057 recording the foundation of the Litoměřice chapter forms a notable exception. A deed in the Ostrov monastery, preserved in the confirmation of Přemysl Ottokar I and listing individual donations made by Bohemian princes, forms the single reliable source of this kind.

While not much is known about the material equipment of the early dioceses, documents and records from monasteries and chapters are much more abundant and facilitate historiographic deductions to a far greater degree.[692] Eight chapters were established in Bohemia prior to 1100: two cathedral chapters associated with St. Vitus in Prague (976) and with St. Peter in Olomouc (?1063) and six collegiates: St. George at PragueCastle (976), Stará Boleslav (1046), Litoměřice (1057), Vyšehrad (1070s–1080s)

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[689] See already Ferdinand Kloss, "Das räumliche Bild der Grundherrschaft in Böhmen bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts, 3. Die geistliche Grundherrschaft," *MVGDB* 71 (1933): 1–112; on ducal possessions, see Ferdinand Kloss, "Das räumliche Bild der Grundherrschaft, 2," 187–220.

[690] In the 1960s, Pražák gathered indications of possible existence of traditional books in the Czech environment. Some remains could be find in the forged charters for West Bohemian Monastery Kladruby.

[691] The most recent attempt to analyze these charters and to draw an image of Přemyslid society of the 11th-12th century on their basisis the work Tomáš Petráček, *Fenomén darovaných lidí v českých zemích 11.–12. století: K poznání hospodářských a sociálních dějin doby knížecí* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova. Filozofická fakulta), 47–114. Individual analytical studies are mentioned in relevant notes.

[692] Only Cosmas points out reforms of incomes, see *Cosmae Chronica* 1.40, 75–76: "Hic/ Bishop Ekhard/constituit, ut pro decimatione unusquisue, sive potens sive dives sive pauper, tantum qui de suo pheodo vel allodio araturam haberet, duos modis quinque palmarum et duorum digitorum, unum tritici et alterum avene, episcopo solveret. Nam antea sicut primo episcopo Diethmaro constitutum erat, pro decimatione duos messis acervos dabant; dicimus enim acervum quinquaginta manipulos habentem".

and possibly Rajhrad (?1040s) and Mělník (prior to 1119).[693] Six monasteries were also definitely founded during the tenth and eleventh centuries: St. George at Prague Castle (?968), Břevnov (993), Ostrov u Prahy (999), Sázava (1032), Hradisko (1078) and Opatovice (1070s–1080s).

The oldest document from the oldest Bohemian monastery—i.e. St. George at Prague Castle—was only preserved in the form of an eighteenth century transcript. Even so, it is only a privilege of Přemysl Ottokar I (1197–1230) dating to 1221 mentioning a supposed exchange made by the Abbess Adelaide and Bishop Šebíř (1031–1067) and subsequently confirmed by Břetislav I (1035–1055), Prince of Bohemia.[694] Subsequent data is only available from mid-thirteenth century forgeries.[695]

The initial endowment of the Břevnov monastery is recorded in two documents dating to 993. A deed by John XV (985–996) was preserved in a 1224 confirmation by Přemysl Ottokar I (1197–1230).[696] Even though the document is of a later date, it is considered to be the original, albeit one riddled with interpolations, most of them applicable to certain prestigious rights regarding the Abbot of Břevnov.[697] Both the Pope's confirmation of the initial ducal endowment as well as the monastery being taken under the protection of St. Peter is generally considered to be true. According to the deed, the donation in question comprised tithes from three "provinces"—Litoměřice, Bílina and Děčín—as well as the individual villages, churches, fields and thralls, which, however, are not enumerated here.[698] A detailed list of these villages is to be found in a deed by Boleslav II (972–999).[699] The document at our disposal is unfortunately

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[693] The only indication is Cosmas' dedication of the first book of his chronicle to Mělník's Provost Šebíř, see *Cosmae Chronica*, prologus, 1.

[694] *CDB*, vol. 2, no. 387, 436: ". . . temporibus Adlaida monasterii eiusdem abbatissa villam Schidol cum silva Luboka et omnibus appertinentiis concambivit pro villa Nezlici a venerabili tum temporis episcopi Pragensi Severo dicto, accedente tunc Bratislav atavi nostri, ducis Boemie, consensu et voluntate".

[695] Ibid., no. 378–379, 418–425.

[696] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 38, 44.

[697] Josef Žemlička found some new interpolations, see Žemlička, "K hodnověrnosti listiny Jana XV.," 25–39.

[698] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 38, 45: "Ad hec monasterium vestrum sub beati Petri et nostra protectione ponentes, omnes ecclesias vestras, villas, agros, silvas, casas servos et ancillas, decimas quoque trium provinciarum Lvtomericensis, Belinensis, Dechinensis et omnium hominum eiusdem monasterii a memorate fratre nostro Adalberto, episcopo Pragensi, cuius amore hec scribimus, monasterio vestro rationabiliter collatas tam in veteribus vultis quam in novalibus in posterum excollendis vobis et hiis, qui vobis successerint, auctoritate apostolica confirmamus".

[699] Ibid., no. 375, 348: ". . . contuli villam Brevnowa nomine ante ipsum monasterium cum omni familia et terra sufficienti ac montem incultum ad meridiem tendentem â bivio quodam, in quo preciduntur molares, Schirnovice dicto, per directum usque ad Lesce et

a mere mid-thirteenth century forgery.[700] The original foundation charter was destroyed at some point in the Middle Ages.[701] Although the document comprises a valuable source in terms of identifying the status of mid-thirteenth century monasterial possessions, it is impossible to identify the original donation made by Boleslav II and his individual successors. The situation surrounding the oldest donation made to the Břevnov

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â Lesce usque ad saxum, qui est positus in via, per quam venitur ad civitatem Pragam. Villam etiam, que Wolezlawin dicitur, cum omni familia ad vineas excolendas terramque sufficientem cum silva adiacente Sclachow nomine et montem alium incultum â villa Tressowicz tendentem usque ad villam Lubocz et ipsam villam Lubocz cum silva adiacente Maleyow nomine. Villam quoque Ruzen nomine cum campis et pratis ad ipsam pertinentibus et in villa Kuromirtwichc tres animatores cum terra sufficienti. In civitate quoque Pragensi decimum forum et decimum denarium de iudicio et decimum de hominum captivum eorumque posteritatem cum XXX areis, ad diversas officinas dispositos. Duo molendina sub ipso castro Praga et de ipso flumine Wltaue ad tria obstacula molendinorum in eodem loco. Villam quoque Nawranem nomine cum hospitibus et ecclesia, ad quam curia mea Radotyn decimam de omni proventu disposui. Scochowicz piscatores cum ipsa villa, cuius termini sunt Cralowa hora et duo rivuli Dubna et Sala cum flumine Wltawa et ex altera parte fluminis eiusdem â Bucownyce usque Cresmna et usque viam, que dicitur Zlapcyce. Decimam quoque de omni agricultura in Porecze et de omnibus agris, qui pertinent ad Ribnyk et mansum in littore fluminis Wltaue ad horreum construendum et obstaculum in eodem loco ad molendina edifficanda. Lubcicich silvam cum piscatoribus et terram sufficientem cum flumine â loco, qui dicitur Strabol, usque ad Podhrodce. In Pl[izne]nsi vero provincia villam Oyppernich nomine et aliam Nymcyce cum omnibus suis attinentiis. In Churimensi vero provincia duas villas, unam Trebestowicz prope Saczka cum agris, pratis et paludibus, aliam Mracenicich cum terra sufficienti intra silvam et extra per circuitum Crech cum prato. In Chocebuz ecclesiam cum duabus curiis et terram sufficientem cum monte Oztrow nuncupato. Insuper in Lutomericensi provincia obtuli villam Heridel dictam cum hospitibus et silva adiacente cum paludibus et flumin[e] Ogre usque ad Albiam et villam Wlencich cum suis attinentiis. Pretera statui, ut singulis annis in dedicatione ecclesie supranominate villicus Pragensis, quisquis fuerit, CCC denarios persolvat, lapidem cere ad luminaria eidem ecclesie, tres urnas mellis, XXX caseos, X panes. Villicus autem Pliznensis provincie in Pasca CCC nummos persolvat, in Pentecosten CCC, in festo snacti Michaelis CCC, in nativitate domini CCC. Constitui autem et ordinavi, ut in omnibus theloneis per Boemiam constitutis fructus decime septimane cedat ad usum Brevnowensis ecclesie, videlicet Domasilicich, Cralupech, Nachlumcy, Nasterniy, Lutomiricz, Navsty super Albiam. Super hec adposui decimum forum decimumque denarium ex omn[i] iudicio in hiis civitatibus scilicet Nazlanem, in Plizeni, Lutomiricich, Churimi, Chrudimi".

[700] Jindřich Šebánek, "Studie k českému diplomatáři. 1: K otázce břevnovských fals," Zdeňku Nejedlému k 75. narozeninám. *SPFFBU* 2, no. 2–4 (1953): 261–285.

[701] Jiří Pražák, "Privilegium pervetustum Boleslai," In *Milénium břevnovského kláštera (993–1993): Sborník statí o jeho významu a postavení v českých dějinách*, edited by Marie Bláhová and Ivan Hlaváček (Prague: Karolinum, 1993), 13–24; Rudolf Koss, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Friedrichs Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris regni Bohemiae*. Vol. 1 of *Studien zum älteren böhmischen Urkundenwesen*. Prager Studien aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 11 (Prag: Rohlicek and Sievers, 1911). See also the so far unnoticed *Zlomek inventáře kláštera Břevnovského z let 1390–1394*, edited by Josef Truhlář, VKČSN, třída fil.-hist.-jazykozp. (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1888–1889), 284: "Item cisticula cum litteris 11 dominorum ducum, ex quibus due sunt in papiro".

monastery is further complicated by two forgeries bearing the name of
Břetislav I and dating to 1046[702] and 1048.[703] Taking into account only the
more recent documents, it is possible to identify several concentrations of
possessions affiliated with the Břevnov monastery around the year 1250:
in the vicinity of present-day Prachatice as well as near the present-day
cities of Prague and Brno. In addition to these clusters, Břevnov posses-
sions may also be found in the vicinity of present-day Kolín nad Labem,
Litoměřice and Ústí nad Labem.

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[702] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 379, 353–354: "... has villas cum hominibus et euarum pertinentiis
dedi: Smilovice, Waisovice et in villa Vezduhovicich tres homines, Podmocleh octo homi-
nes, Racovicih octo homines, Bvdegosticih dimidiam villam, Nvtovicih dimidiam, Segro-
vicih dimidiam. Quendam eciam homines in Zlicina Keien nomine cum omni posteritate
sua, propter delictum suspendio iudicatum, addita terra, et alium virum, Lvben nomine,
in Crepeniz, propter furtivam venationem similiter patibulo iudicatum cum sex mancipiis
eidem monatserio dedita, ut domino abbati et fratribus eius singulis annis quilibet illorum
duodecimum denarios persolvat, et porcum trienum bene pastum dent semel in anno et
peroctationes et conductum, quociens expedit, domino abbati vel nunciis ipsius.... Cir-
cuitum in Prahensi provincia, has villas cum hominibus et terris, silvis et pratis continen-
tem: Hidchice cum flumine, Hainv et curiam Navgezdci cum suis attinentiis, Domarazi
et Kalinicih duos homines, Nezamizlice et Canicih dimidiam villam, Crainice et Scodru,
Dwocotloki et Sivohibice, Sihovice cum flumine Otava cum molendinis et pratis, Psare
et Crauolusice, Volisovice et Stancovice, Podmocli cum in Breznicich. In Morauia eciam
quandam cellam in honore sanctorum Petri et Pavli apostolorum in quodam castro
deserto, cui nomen Raygrad, construxi et eam foro in proxima villa et theloneo ibidem.
in ponte constituto, villis eciam et silvis, fluminibus et pratis circumquaque adiacentibus
sufficienter dotatam ecclesie Brevnovensi et domino Meinhardo abbati suisque successori-
bus dedi perpetuo possidendam cum omnimoda eiusdem celle et supradictarum villarum
hominum libertate, quam serenissimus proavus meus Bolezlavs, quondam dux Boemie,
ad peticionem sancti Adalberti, omnibus hominibus Brevnovensis ecclesie per totam Boe-
miam liberaliter dedit, ..."

[703] Ibid., no. 381, 357–358: "Quorum ego Brachizlaus esse cupiens imitator, pro reme-
dio anime mee et parentum meorum ad honorem dei et sanctorum apostolorum Petri et
Pauli ecclesiam in castro Raygradensi propriis sumptibus construxi, tali scilicet tenore, ut
in perpetuum, tam in temporalium ordinatione, quam in omni disciplina et reverencia
Brevnovensi subiaceat ecclesie. Ad consolationem autem pauperum fratrum deo militan-
tium, quos ibidem abbas Brevnovensis manere decreverit, villam Raygradensem una cum
tabernis absolute et forum et theloneum in ponte eiusdem ville ab omni extranea con-
tradidi exactione, villam Popowici cum omnibus suis attinentiiis similiter large et libere
obtuli; terminus autem silve, qui ipsi attinet ville, á Bobrava deorsum usque ad terminum
Bluchine sic et flumen Zuratcha ad eosdem terminos usque dirivatur. Dedi etiam villam
Opatowici similiter cum pratis et flumine et silva; terminus autem huius ville usque ad
terminos Bluchine et usque ad pontem ville proxime Vzose nomine protendit. Ad hec
in Brinnensi provintia decimationem frumenti ac decimi nummi et villam Obvcheri cum
omnibus suis appendiciis et decimam thelonei, quod brod vulgo appelatur, in flumine
Olzawa donavi. Preterea considerans non posse sufficere fratribus in Raygrad silvas dona-
tas ad omnem necessitatem, circuitum Domasove larga benivolentia et absolute ipsis con-
tradidi. Extenditur autem circuitus â villa et rivo Bobrowa usque ad rivum Bietesca et
usque ad terminos Lucki. In speciales vero usus fratribus in Brevov villam Raygradici simul
et tabernarios in Lucka constitui".

By contrast, a second document—in fact a confirmation of earlier donations to the Ostrov monastery—contains a thorough inventory of assets held by the monastery at the beginning of the thirteenth century, associating each donation with an individual Bohemian prince.[704] This facilitates a clear view of the princes' involvement in Bohemian and Moravian lands. A majority of the moderately-sized donations are located in a ca. 50-kilometer-wide belt stretching from Beroun to Benešov.

Very little is known about the original endowment of the Sázava monastery; its early days were described by the so-called Monk of Sázava only in the 1160s.[705] The donation, attributed to Prince Oldřich (1012–1033, 1034) and his son Břetislav I (1035–1055), was allegedly located somewhere in the immediate vicinity.[706]

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[704] Ibid., no. 40, 47: "Hec sunt ville et alia bona, que contulit bone memorie Boleslav dux: Wodochoty, Zaiecye, Blasin cum circuitu silve. De familia autem has villas Sazawa, Sedlce, Myechinicy. Piscatores autem Drazowicich, Trebani, Lahowicyh."; ibid., no. 46, 50: ". . . Swoysicih, Nahorubyech, Poryesichyh . . ."; ibid., no. 48, 51: ". . . silvam Strnouic necnon et villam Zcramnik . . ."; ibid., no. 52, 52–53: ". . . tradidit Cvsowicyh debitores mellis. Capellam quoque in spelunca sancti Johannis Baptiste huic loco addidit. Insuper custodes ipsius ecclesie Chrustimichich et Nuncycyh; villam cum hospitibus Sedlce. Item aliam capellam in Veliz cum omnibus appendiciis suis dedit; piscatores Drazowycyh, custodes eiusdem ecclesie Otrocynyewsy, Cyrninye terram ad quatuor aratra. Circuitum quoqe silve, quod dicitur Zaton, et capellam beati Johannis Baptiste cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus. Domaslicyh civitate eciam ebdomadam thelonei contulit cum capella beati Jacobi apostoli cum omnibus appendiciis suis . . ."; ibid., no. 56, 60: "Inter hec Spitigneus, dux Bohemorum, villam Trebenicyh pro remedio anime sue suorumque addidit, Hercaz eciam quosdam homines, qui ter in anno scutellas et cetera utensilia solvant"; ibid., no. 83, 90: ". . . contulit, id est: villam Chrynany, aliam quoque villam Wsetycyh, villam quoque, due dicitur Nouesedlo . . ."; ibid., no. 91, 98: ". . . villam eciam Stasowye dedit, insuper et Zynias terram plus quam ad decem aratra cum silva . . ."; ibid., no. 97, 104: ". . . Krawsco in provincia Znoymensi, ubi habetur de terra plus quam ad quadraginta aratra, insuper et silvam addidit; in Bohemia autem predium Zahoregewicy et villam Chrabercyh . . ."; ibid., no. 98, 105: ". . . dedit capellam sancti Petri, apostolorum principis, cum terra ad quatuor aratra et partem flumiis de Blanycye".

[705] *Über die Gründung des Klosters Sazawa*, chap. 1, 242–252, 244: "Facta ergo celebri promotione dux Bracizlaus primo quidem donationem, quam pater suus eidem patri adhuc ante susceptionem abbatie fecerat, flumen videlicet subterfluens a Milobuz usque ad speluncam, que volgo Zacolnici dicitur, cum pratis et silva circumiacente, principali roboravit auctoritate. Deinde etiam hanc enadem donationem supervenientibus heredibus et eam suo iuri usurpative vendicare molientibus, nolens paterna cassare statuta semet opposuit, litem diremit et eidem patri Procopio omnem utilitatem in aqua et silva a predictis terminis redonavit, agros et prata ex utraque parte adiacentia sub testimonio et confirmatione filii sui Wratizlai et principum suorum sexcentorum denariorum precio redemit et abbati Procopio scriptis et legitimis testibus reconsignavit. Ad extremum quoque ex propria largitione terram, que circa est, usque ad silvam Strnouic nec non et villam Zcramnik et unum stagnum et structuram lignorum ad piscandum centum denariis comparatam eidem abbati et suis successoribus pro remedio anime sue in perpetuum possidenda contradidit."; His account is probably based on earlier sources, cf. above, pp. 224–227.

[706] On further details, see pp. 140–141.

Prior to the middle of the eleventh century, Břetislav I succeeded in founding a chapter in Stará Boleslav associated with the Church of St. Cosmas and Damian. The document detailing this achievement is—however—yet another forgery, created sometime in the twelfth century and only preserved in a seventeenth century manuscript.[707] The document mentions a donation of several Bohemian villages in the vicinity of Stará Boleslav, equipped with ploughmen, joiners, honey merchants and church wardens as well as referring to tithes to be paid to the chapter by the Čáslav province as well as by castles in Žatec and Boleslav and subordinate villages. Additionally, it also recounts the various incomes from Moravia, including a one-tenth part of the overall income as well as tithes from markets and bridges and dues from oxen[708] and talents of silver.[709]

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[707] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 382, 359–362: "Dedi enim villas: una vocatur Popouici, secunda Prisnin, terbia Zapi, quarta dreuici, quinta Mlicasir, sexta Dethenici cum slatu, septima Drisech cum torculari, cuius dimidiam partem canonicis staui. Ad quod colendum servos destinavi . . . Ad portandas lagunculas dedi . . . Aratores ad predictas villas dedi . . . Tornarium scutellarum . . . Molendinarium . . . Sutores marduniranium pellium . . . Piscatores . . . Oppilionem . . . Fabros . . . Qui picarios faciant . . . Qui curti cottidie inserviant . . . Tributarios mellis . . . Salsamentarios . . . Podpope, qui debent semper equum habere in curtem. Ad agenda quoque negocia . . . Scutarium, qui debet sex scuta dare . . . Campanarium ecclesie . . . Custodes ecclesie . . . is itaque dispositis, addidimus decimationem, quę pertinet ad urbem Cazlaue et in pago dicto Isgorelik, quae sex denariis solvitur ad sustentationem canonicorum . . . Insuper urbibus Zatec et Boleslai utraque de omnibus quesitis et inquirendis decimum denarium. Per rura quoque ad preditas urbes pertinencia, ubicumque dominica exercerentur aratra, decimum manipulum et omnium animalium, tam maiorum, quam minorum, quę per eadem rura aluntur, decimam. Quae vero sunt harum urbium, tam in longitudine, tam in latitudine, dimensa in hospitum rusticorumque turma, decimam urnam mellis tributique pacis decimum denarium persolvant. Addidimus etiam turrem dictam Lysa post obitum comitis nomine Mutis. . . . In Morauia vero de urbibus Rokiten, Znoiem, Bethow decimationem, quę sex denariis ab unoquoque solvitur. Damus insuper de venditione hominum decimum denarium et decimum forum per omnia loca ad predictas urbes pertinencia. In flumine vero, quod dicitur Dyga, de omnibus pontibus decimum tributum. Prateer haec eiusdem ecclesiae necessariis consulentes ad restauranda aratra, si forte defficiant, ad emenda caonicorum vestimenta haec super addidimus: Olomuc solvat annuatim unam marcam et duos boves, . . . Villas quoque dedimus has ibidem . . ."; On this charter from the perspective of diplomatics, see Jan Bistřický, "Zakládací listiny kláštera Hradisko u Olomouce a počátky české panovnické listiny," VVM 45 (1993): 131–136. According to this author, the charter is similar in its style to unquestionably original charters of Otto I, duke of Olomouc (1061–1087), and his brother, king Vratislav II (1061–1092), for the Hradisko Monastery. In terms of its content, see Tadeusz Lalik, "Włość kanoników staroboleslawskich w pierwsziej połowie XI wieku: Z studiów nad organizacją domeny książęcej," KwHKM 19 (1971): 399–429.

[708] Petr Meduna, "Poznámky k článku Jiřího Mlíkovského 'Boves' jako součást donace staroboleslavské kapituly," *AR* 57 (2005): 205–208. The author interprets this payment as part of the tribute, which Břetislav allegedly imposed on Moravia after its subjugation.

[709] Most recently, see Karin Pátrová, "Moravský majetek kolegiátní kapituly ve Staré Boleslavi," *Studie a zprávy Okresního muzea Prague-východ v Brandýse nad Labem a Staré Boleslavi* 15 (2004): 110–114.

Furthermore, the Boleslavian chapters supposedly also acquired a number of South Moravian villages. It is evident that most of the money collected by a chapter was derived from portions in the ducal rentals. Although documents from later times confirm that many of the listed possessions really belonged to the chapter,[710] it is impossible to distinguish which of them formed the foundation.

A deed of 1057 set out by Prince Spytihněv II (1055–1061) documents the foundation of the Litoměřice chapter in much greater detail. Though also counterfeited, the original has been preserved as well and it is thus possible to reveal any interpolations by means of paleographic analysis.[711] Once again, property donated by the prince is to be found in the vicinity of significant castles, especially Litoměřice and Ústí nad Labem.[712]

The beginnings of the Hradisko monastery seem to be recorded best, primarily due to the fact that its endowment has been documented. After all, the origin of the Hradisko monastery is closely associated with the beginnings of the Přemyslid ruler charters.[713] Possessions obtained from Otto I and Eufemia the princely pair of Olomouc and subsequently multiplied by Prince Vratislav II (1061–1092) have only one thing in common—all are located near waterways, most of them along the Morava River. They form no extraordinary concentration.[714] Otto's foundation, comprising a

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[710] David Kalhous, "Stará Boleslav v písemných pramenech raného středověku," in *Stará Boleslav: Přemyslovský hrad v raném středověku*, edited by Ivana Boháčová, Mediaevalia archeologica Bohemica 5 (Prague: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 2003), 17–28.

[711] Zdeněk Kristen, "Pamětní záznam o obvěnění kapituly litoměřické: Příspěvek k diplomatickému rozboru českých aktů," *AUPO Historica* 2 (1961): 69–97.

[712] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 55, 55: "...vias duas, unam per silvam ad Hlmecs...; alteram per aquam Vzthi, que duci pertinuit, addidit...Rusticos vero de civitate XII, de Belina totidem ordinavit."; Ibid., no. 55, 56: 'Legalis eciam decimacio ab hominibus huic ecclesię pertinentibus non alii nisi preposito et fratribus persolvatur. Nomina villarum: Cressicsi, Prenee, Popouo, Zassadee, Trebesicsi, Repcicsi, Tinecs, Malseu, Breza, Ptacicsi, Lubesevicsi, Hvcsci, <Bvsoici, Hotsov.>' '<De villa Desecripi datus est quidam homo nomine Zlaton cum filiis et fratre ad legem eiusdem ęcclesię,'>"

[713] Bistřický, "Zakládací listiny kláštera Hradisko," 131–136.

[714] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 79, 83: "Hec sunt nomina villarum, quas dedimus sancto Stephano in obsequium ibi deo serviencium fratrrum: Prima, que cognominatur Kisselowici, secunda Roschin, tercia Gaychyn, quarta Ugezd Lasene, qui terminatur rivulo Lodinica. Pretera data est curia, que vocatur Uzobren, cum sibi adiacentibus villis sub omni tributo et consuetudine sicut antea solvebat sue domine. Data est autem silva, que vocatur Lubochca.... Datus est etiam de Olsaua sextus denarius et de ponte Bratislauie civitatis sextus denarius, de via vero, que ducit Poloniam iuxta civitatem Gradecz, sextus denarius et de moneta decimus denarius. Data sunt autem et dua vivaria piscium, nomen unius Wydoma et nomen alterius Tekalecz. De familia vero Suda cum filio, Tesata cum filio, Milei cum filiis, Krziscen cum filio, Bezen cum tribus filiis, Miros cum fratre Ostoi, duo molentes, duo pistores, duo coqui, duo stubarum calefactores, duo fabri, duo sutores, duo scutellarum et cyphorum artifices, duo figuli, duo operarii. Et hoc sciendum est, quia ex hiis, quos

number of villages, is supplemented by a share of the prince's incomes from Hradec u Opavy and Břeclav.

Prince Vratislav II (1061–1092) also initiated the founding of a new chapter in Vyšehrad. Although details of the foundation are unknown, it seems that it was meant to strengthen the ruler's prestige and help turn Vyšehrad into a magnificent residence modelled on Aachen and Rome.[715] The establishment of the church itself as well as the layout of all churches in the complex are indicative of such a design. However, the foundation records—forgeries dating to the first half of the twelfth century—were most likely created in order to delay the gradual downfall of the local chapter and castle.[716] Ignoring the so-called donation of Nemoj from between 1100 and 1107,[717] a certificate by Soběslav I (1126–1140) dating to 1130 appears to be the earliest authentic document on record.[718] Hence, even the Vyšehrad documents do not provide information regarding the extent of chapter-owned property at the time of its origin; in fact, it is impossible to determine when the chapter was founded.[719] However, it

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enumeravimus, alii servi, alii sunt precio introducendi. Quatuor piscatores, septem aratra cum aratoribus; hii omnino introducendi sunt precio, et pro capite singulorum dandum est precium trecentorum denariorum ea condicione, ut, si aliquando velit aliquis eorum de servitute exire, reddat precium, quod datum est pro se, et alius ex eo precio introducatur eodem ordine."; Ibid., vol. 1, no. 80, 86: "Nos autem ecclesie, quantum ex nostra parte, addimus villam, que vocatur Vgerczy, tria aratra cum aratoribus duobus, decem equos". Cf. Petr Elbel, "Hospodářské zázemí kláštera Hradisko u Olomouce v 11. a 12. století," in *Ve stopách sv. Benedikta: Sborník příspěvků z konference Středověké kláštery v zemích Koruny české konané ve dnech 24.–25. května 2001 v Třebíči*, edited by Libor Jan and Petr Obšusta, Disputationes Moravicae 3 (Brno: Matice moravská and Západomoravské muzeum, 2002), 39–56.

[715] Most recently, see Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Vyšehrad, rezidence českých panovníků: Studie o rezidenci panovníka raného středověku na příkladu českého Vyšehradu* (Prague: Set out, 2002); Demeter Malaťák, "Korunovace Vratislava II.," *ČMM* 121 (2002): 267–286.

[716] Alleged privileges of Alexander II and Vratislav II are concerned here, see *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 384, 365–367; ibid., no. 387, 371–391. Most recently, Jiřina Psíková, "Příspěvky k diplomatice vyšehradských listin 12. století," *Archivum Trebonense* 2 (1973): 1–43 connects the earliest forgeries with the first half of the 12th century.

[717] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 100, 105.

[718] Ibid., no. 111, 111–115.

[719] A forgery in the name of Vratislav II provides only a limited image, see ibid., no. 387, 373–376: "<Sitinicih tota villa cum vineis, cum pomeriis, cuius meta a fonte, qui exiit de Lbin, usque ad> foralem viam. Tinc villa. Naurutici terra ad duo aratra. Namalesoue de terra novem manses. Gozteni tota villa <preter hospites abbatis Breunouensis.> Voykouici tota villa preter terram sancti Clementis de Opis. Gogolicihi VI manses. Kohouich de terra ad duo aratra cum koko nomine Koh. Wbelsce Sihlich de terra ad duo arathra. In alia villa eodem nomine nucupata terra ad aratrum cum vinitore nomine <Coiaticih ab hospitibus per totam villam decima.> Wboleslauzcse Vykouivih VII manses de terra cum ministerialibus, quorum nomina sunt . . . Cekouicih III manses de terra cum cocis. Bezne de terra ad tria aratra. Iazenice terra ad aratrum cum fabro. Badreh de terra VII manses

seems that during the first half of the twelfth century most chapter-owned property was located in the vicinity of present-day Kolín nad Labem and in the north, near Ústí nad Labem and Litoměřice.

The foundation of the Opatovice monastery—established around the Břevnov cell donated by the noble Mikulec[720]—presents an almost identical situation. The preserved deed is—yet again—no more than a later forgery. Based on stylistic similarities with a deed by Prince Vladislav II (1140–1172) dating to 1160, Václav Hrubý asserts that this document must have been written only after the year 1160; however, he concludes that the forgery itself is based on a document by Vratislav II.[721] It is thus impossible to be sure when the Opatovice monastery was actually established. In addition, the range of property enumerated evidently points to the situation around 1130 instead of Vratislav's gift.[722] The document primarily

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cum vinitoribus, quorum nomina sunt . . . Inter duo castra, scilicet Chrudim et Wratizlav, Ianisouici tota villa. <Gruzineuizi III manses.> Naxacsigore terra ad aratrum cum coco nomine Odol. Scsitarih terra ad aratrum cum ministeriale nomine Radon. Nanezmine terra ad aratrum cum ministerialibus, . . . Woderadeh terra ad duo aratra cum ministerialiis aquariis, . . . Bogsicih terra . . . In castro Kurim ministeriales, qui dicuntur Iuse, VI; . . . Hotisi . . . Sinaz terra ad IIII aratra cum lagenariis, quorum nomina . . . Pzarih terra ad IIII manses cum scutelariis, . . . Iazenici terra ad V aratra cum scutellaribus IIII, . . . Wirbcsaz terra ad aratrum. Gradisci novem manses . . .”

[720] Ibid., no. 386, 368–369: “. . . quod mei primatis, videlicet Mikulec, cellam in Gradcensi territorio sitam, Breunouensi coenobio regulari obedientia subiectam, amodo per se subsistere et abbaciam vocari et exxe decerno et decernendo confirmo”.

[721] Hrubý, *Tři studie*, 133–136; see also Emilie Nohejlová, *Příběhy kláštera opatovického: Příspěvek k vlastivědě země české* (Prague: Filozofická fakulta University Karlovy, 1925). Recently on the link of the charter for Opatovice to other Vratislav's charters also in Bistřický, “Zakládací listiny kláštera Hradisko.”

[722] *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 386, 369–370: “Predia itaque hęc sunt: vilam Ozicih cum hominibus servitute mancipatis et vinea, duos quoque vinitores, Zaba et raten, cum posteris suis obtuli. Sciendum quoque est, ut si quis liber in possessiones eorum transierit et predictas terras Opatouicih, Ozicih possederit, simili servituri sit astrictus et absque tributo regis permaneat et servilia opera impendat. Lateram quoque villam Ozzicih dictam cum universis hospistibus; villam quoque Uizocã dictam; villam quoque Bregi et fluvium, qui ipsam circumfluit silvam et omulum, qui circa Albeam repperitur. Priluche villam cum hospitibus et omulum et quosque campi ispius ville protenduntur; villam Mocossin cum hospitibus; villam quoque Zoprche et circuitionem silve. Glina quoque villam quę dicitur ad ęcclesiam, ob differentiam alterius ville eodem nomine dicte et circuitionem silve iuxta eandem villam usque ad fluvium Rochiteni et usque ad silvam Uribete et Zdezlai. Vilam quoque Nedelischi ad tria aratra. In villa Dolaz ad tria aratra. Villas in Morauia in Brnensi provincia Opatouicih ad refocilationem fratrum, . . . Daletici quoque in Uzobrno et circuitus Olesnice, cuius termini sunt albi lapides et ex una parte flumen Zuartca et Zuitaua. Fines vero ipsius silve non sunt nisis ad desertum silvarum viam habentium, quę ducit ad Bohemiam. Hęc sunt beneficia prenominati cenobii: Per omnes civitates Morauie nonum forum et nona septimana et cetera collecta sive colligenda, scilicet Olomuci, Preroue, Brachizlaui, Brenne, Naiuani, Ztrachotine; Naprauole tributum de ponte, sed non forum; Znoimi nonum forum, nona quoque septimana de ponte; Nagradcu simili modo;

lists property in the vicinity of present-day Pardubice, Hradec Králové and Brno as well as making references to property along roads connecting Bohemia to Moravia.

Even less is known about the beginnings of the Rajhrad provostal. The foundation document does not exist. Though one of the later forgeries mentions that Břetislav I donated the church of St. Peter and Pavel at the Rajhrad castle to Břevnov,[723] a second document claims that the church was deserted and that the local cell of St. Peter and Pavel was in fact built by Břetislav I himself.[724] Whether the cell (or church) was subordinate to Břevnov is unclear. Recent analyses indicate that the submission of Rajhrad to Břevnov monastery was the outcome of a long process.[725] It is impossible to determine whether Rajhrad emerged as an independent Benedictine monastery[726] or whether it was originally a collegiate chapter.[727]

The documents mentioned here preclude us from answering many questions. There are too few of them. Moreover, the evidence they present is spread out over the course of a century and covers the entire area

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Rokitne forum tantum; Ruzoticich tributum de via; in Olzaua XI septimana, in qua eodem modo de ponte concedo abbati accipiendum, quo dux et episcopus accipit. . . . Predictus vero Miculec Uratizlaui terram unius aratra obtulit. Tezlin, prepositus Gradcensis, terram uniius aratri Platchicich. Boleradus abbas dedit eidem ęcclesie terram Liubcichas. Gero capellanus meus villam Platimicih. Ego autem addo aquam Trzteniceam a Roztok usque Prahouici. Usebor quoque meus primas dedit eidem villam Lodine".

[723] Ibid., no. 381, 357: "Quorum ego Brachizlaus esse cupiens imitator, pro remedio anime mee et parentum meorum ad honorem dei et sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli eccelsiam in castro Raygradensi propriis sumptibus construxi, tali scilicet tenore, ut in perpetuum, tam in temporalium ordinatione, quam in omni dsciplina et reverencia Brevnovensi subiaceat ecclesie".

[724] Ibid., no. 379, 354: "In Morauia eciam quandam cellam in honore sanctorum Petri et Pavli apostolorum in quodam castro deserto, cui nomen Raygrad, construxi et eam foro in proxima villa et theloneo ibidem in ponte constituto, villis eciam et silvis, fluminibus et pratis circumquaque adiacentibus sufficienter dotatam ecclesie Brevnovensi et domino Meinhardo abbati suisque successoribus dedi perpetuo possidendam cum omnimoda eiusdem celle et supradictarum villarum hominum libertate, quam serenissimus proavus meus Bolezlavs, quondam dux Boemie, ad peticionem sancti Adalberti, omnibus hominibus Brevnovensis ecclesie per totam Boemiam liberaliter dedit, . . ."

[725] Libor Jan, "Počátky benediktinů na Moravě a rajhradský klášter," in *Ve stopách sv. Benedikta: Sborník příspěvků z konference Středověké kláštery v zemích Koruny české konané ve dnech 24.–25. května 2001 v Třebíči*, edited by Libor Jan and Petr Obšusta, Disputationes Moravicae 3 (Brno: Matice moravská and Západomoravské muzeum, 2002), 19–27, at 23–25. On forging Rajhrad charters, see Koss, *Kritische Bemerkungen*, 59–67.

[726] Dušan Foltýn, "Celly a proboštství kláštera sv. Jana Křtitele na Ostrově: Zamyšlení nad problematikou benediktinských pobočných domů v raněstředověkých Čechách," in *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a střední Evropa*, edited by Petr Sommer (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2006), 277–289, at 227.

[727] Jan, "Počátky benediktinů na Moravě," 25–27.

of present-day Bohemia and Moravia. Nevertheless, we have been able to arrive at a number of conclusions. Generally, the donation comprised of villages complete with their inhabitants, likewise often enumerated in the documents. Additionally, the prince often added a part of his own income to an endowment. The nature of the sources unfortunately makes it impossible to associate individual donations with individual people. Yet, once placed on a map, the donations afford an interesting picture, clearly defining a ruler's presence in a certain area. The majority of all donations is clustered around present-day Prague and its close vicinity. Many are, surprisingly, found in the area of present-day Písek and Strakonice. The greater frequency of donations in the Litoměřice and Ústí nad Labem area is perhaps less surprising. Concentrations of property are also to be found in the area of Brno and Znojmo, as well as in the vicinity of Slaný, Beroun, Pardubice, Kolín nad Labem and Benešov. The remaining areas of Bohemia and Moravia lack direct proof of individual rulers' activities or provide only isolated testimonies. The deeds and records we utilized certainly present rather sporadic evidence; a more profound study of subsequent conditions is needed in order to fill in a number of gaps. Nevertheless, they document rather well the concentration of Přemyslid interests in certain areas of Bohemia and Moravia, hinting at reduced involvement in other parts of the country. Taking into account only original documents, it may be said that the greatest amount of evidence of the involvement of individual princes may be observed in the present-day Central Bohemian Region south of Prague and in present-day Ústí nad Labem and Litoměřice. In Moravia, direct involvement is only traceable thanks to a small donation to the Hradisko monastery, which at first hardly comprised any kind of extraordinarily concentrated property. Only a number of forgeries bear evidence of Přemyslid influence in southern Bohemia, where the Břevnov monastery allegedly acquired numerous villages in Prácheňsko and in southern Moravia. By means of collecting duties and salaries, these villages helped support the canons in Stará Boleslav as well as the Benedictines in Opatovice and Břevnov—reportedly from the very beginnings of the institutions in question. Likewise, the Opatovice monastery apparently also acquired numerous villages in the vicinity of present-day Pardubice, according to the wish of Vratislav II (1055–1092). However, on the face of it, donations to church institutions seem to suggest that the Přemyslids' position in the early days of their emerging domain was far from strong.

A PŘEMYSLID STRENGTH—FORGING COMMON IDENTITY

Identity is one of the most popular terms in modern social sciences and humanities—in the 1980s and 1990s more than 30, 000 articles were published on this topic.[1] However, since the famous psychologist Erik Erikson in the 1940s introduced "identity" in scientific discourse, there have been many attempts to define, and also to dispute, this term.[2] "Identity" also gained different meaning in psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, and historiography. Although Erik Erikson underlines close connection between the individual identity and social conditions of its development, in psychology, the ego aspect of "Identitätsbildung" plays the most important role, whereas sociologists or historians focus merely on structural aspects of personal identity or on the identity of groups.

In historiography of the early middle Ages, the concept of identity replaced in the 1990s the idea of "Traditionsbildung".[3] The research of social, cultural, or religious identity focused, in the first place, on the transmission and transformation of the texts, where the differences between these texts were interpreted as an expression of the different self-identification of the author, and also of the group that he or she represented.[4] Shared identity was mostly created through the historical narrative and norms.[5] Also, historical archeology seized the opportunity when weapons or jewelry in the graves began to be interpreted as badges of social identity.[6] However,

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[1] Cf. James E. Cote, Charles G. Levine, *Identity, Formation, Agency, and Culture: A Social Psychological Synthesis* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002).

[2] Erik Erikson, *Identität und Lebenszyklus: drei Aufsätze* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1966); critical remarks on todays situation in Rogers Brubaker, Frederick Cooper, "Beyond ‚Identity'," *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47 and Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, Mass. – London: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[3] Conf. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* and e.g. *Text and identities in the early middle ages*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 12, edited by Richard Corradini, Christina Pössel and Philip Shaw (Wien: Verlag der Österreichsichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006).

[4] E.g. *Text and identities*.

[5] See Walter Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung: Montecassino und die Gestaltung der langobardischen Vergangenheit.* MIÖG ErgB. 39 (Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001).

[6] E.g. Florin Curta, "Some remarks on bow fibulae of Werner's class I C," *Slavia Antiqua* 49 (2008): 45–98.

identity and identification always have to find the balance between the ego, its self-presentation and its perception by the "others". Because of that, it is quite important to analyze the imagined communities as seen by the "others".[7] It is hardly surprising that formulating the difference and distinction is also one of the strategies by the formulation of its own identity.

Because of lack of the sources, we cannot follow the refinements of habits of early medieval Bohemian elites.[8] Through the research of "identity", we attempt, at least, to describe the sources of their possible self-identification.

First, the image of Přemyslids and Bohemians in tenth century sources will be analysed, because discussing "otherness" of tenth-century Bohemians in imperial annals and chronicles opens the way for understanding not only their "barbarian" image (discourse of "barbarian enemy"), but also makes us acquainted with the challenge the early medieval Bohemian elites were confronted with when they e.g. visited imperial assemblies or supported the emperors on their military campaigns. In advance, we can notice that the imperial chroniclers and annalist of the ninth and tenth centuries recognized only the Bohemians in Bohemia, although many other sources mention other "gentes" in Bohemia.[9] Was it due to the blindness of imperial sources to the "barbarian" reality with many "chieftains" and not just one king?[10] Either way, we can conclude that the image of Bohemians in imperial historiography could have contributed to the forging of common identity of Bohemian elites.

Secondly, we have to make a little side stop to prove the authenticity of one of our most important sources, *Legenda Christiani*. Thirdly, it is necessary to analyze possible sources of "positive" identification—in the first place, it is the narrative about the beginning of Christianity in Bohemia

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[7] Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs, 1963); Todorov, *The Conquest of America*.

[8] About the koncept of habit see Bourdieu, *Der Habitus als Vermittlung*.

[9] See David Kalhous, "Mittelpunkte der Herrschaft und Cosmas von Prag. Zum Charakter der Macht des frühmittelalterlichen Fürsten," in *Praktische Funktion, gesellschaftliche Bedeutung und symbolischer Sinn der frühgeschichtlichen Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, edited by Jiří Macháček and Šimon Ungermann. Studien zur Archäologie Europas 14(Bonn: Habelt-Verlag, 2011), 669–689.

[10] Fried, Johannes, "Gens und regnum: Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungskategorien politischen Wandels im früheren Mittelalter. Bemerkungen zur doppelten Theoriebildung des Historikers," in *Sozialer Wandel im Mittelalter. Wahrnehmungsformen, Erklärungsmuster, Regelungsmechanismen*, edited by Jürgen Miethke – Klaus Schreiner (Thorbecke, Sigmaringen: 1994): 73–104.

and its alleged Moravian origin. To be able to recognize its specifics, we have to compare confront it with other contemporary narratives about St. Cyril and Methodius from Kievan Rus and Bulgaria. With the tradition of Moravian origin of Bohemian Christianity, one aspect is assumed to be closely connected: Church Slavonic liturgy that must have been used in tenth and eleventh century Bohemia and Moravia. Historians and slavists often emphasize its specifics and its importance for making a distinction between Czech lands and the "others". Origins of this liturgical praxis are thought to be found in Moravia. If we accept this hypothesis, we could identify Slavic liturgy as a source of identity of Bohemian and Moravian early medieval ecclesiastical elites. Through this specific liturgy, Bohemian clergy had also allegedly strengthened its connection to the tradition of St. Methodius and his archbishopric. However, the evidence of Slavic liturgy is problematic and we have to proof it first. Certainly, the evidence is clearer in the case of St. Wenceslas. In the last step, we have to go through the hagiographic tradition to be able to recognize the importance of this cult. By comparing early legends about St. Wenceslas, we can clearly distinguish first attempts to define Bohemian identity through the relationship to this saint. Thanks to this broadly shared cult of the saint, the identity of early medieval Bohemians would have been defined not only through the "otherness" ascribed to them by the imperial chroniclers, but in positive way as well.

1. *Image of Přemyslids in Tenth-Century Sources*

Once the situation had calmed down, king Otto I (936–973) and his brother Henry, duke of Bavaria, took advantage of the opportunity and stormed into Bohemia in the summer of 950.[11] Laying siege to the castle *Niuunburg*[12]—the residence of his foe's son—his army settled down and waited. And hardly in vain, as in due course, the Bohemian prince appeared—at the head of his own army.

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[11] See n. 185, p. 52.

[12] It is not clear which castle is concerned here. It is definitely not present-day Nymburk but rather, as Sláma, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku*, vol. 2, 58 puts it, a newly built stronghold in north-eastern Bohemia. On the basis of the extant accounts and with regard to existing knowledge of archaelogy, this "new castle" cannot be safely identified.

However, Widukind writes that "Boleslav,[13] on recognizing the king's virtues (*virtus*) and seeing the great number of his troops, would rather have submitted to the king's majesty than suffer ultimate defeat. So he left the castle.[14] And standing under the colours[15] and listening to the king and answering him, he was granted mercy. And the king, on achieving a glorious victory, returned to Saxony."[16] Elsewhere, Widukind notes that Boleslav thereafter remained loyal and supportive of the king.[17]

The above may be seen as a brief look at the mutual interrelationship between Boleslav I (935–972) and Otto I (936–973). However, Widukind's writings also call for an analysis of how the chronicler constructs both the image of the "barbarian" himself as well as that of his relationship to the empire.[18] He also invites us to consider his own attitude and the attitudes of his contemporaries to the "barbarians" in the east as well as assessing how such a delimitation of the Other contributed to the formation of a common Saxon identity and—consequently—the formation of power centers east of the empire.[19] In order to understand the kind of challenges the Přemyslids faced, it is necessary to analyze the image of Přemyslid and Piast princes in tenth-century sources as well. The analysis of Widukind's *Res gestae* gives us good starting point for this kind of analysis because of Widukind's interest for Slavonic neighbors of Ottonian Empire.

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[13] Ludat, "Böhmen und die Anfänge Ottos I.," 137 claims that all this concerns Boleslav' son.

[14] Widukind used the term *urbs* here, which in his chronicle, however, can mean a seat of a bishop with an ancient tradition as well as newly built castle, see Marie Bláhová, *Evropská sídliště v latinských pramenech období raného feudalismu.* AUC Phil.et Hist. Monographia 100, (1983) (Prague: Univerzita Karlova), 1985, 85–89.

[15] See n. 185, p. 52.

[16] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.8, 108–109: "Considerata itaque virtute regis ac innumera multitudine exercitus, Bolizlav urbe egressus maluit tantae maiestati subici quam ultimam perniciem pati. Sub signisque stans et regem audiens responsaque reddens, veniam tandem promeruit. Inde plena victoria gloriosus factus, rex Saxoniam regreditur".

[17] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.3, 69: "...regi fiedelis servus et utilis permansit...”; Allegedly, Boleslav even became vassal of his brother, according to the relatively late source *Thietmari Chronicon* 2.2, 40. Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that Thietmar's account of these events influenced a later enfeoffment of Duke Jaromír by emperor Henry II (1002–1024) in Prague after 1000. On Thietmar as a reporter on Bohemian history, see Mikušek, "Ideové pojetí vztahu českého státu," 12–17.

[18] On the image of Slavic dukes in Widukind's work, see Franz J. Schröder, *Völker und Herrscher des östlichen Europa im Weltbild Widukinds von Korvei und Thietmars von Merseburg* (Münster: F.J. Schröder, 1977), 48–53.

[19] For concept of "Otherness" see Todorov, *The Conquest of America* or Erving Goffman, *Stigma*. Influential remarks on formation of personal identities in different societies Erik Erikson, Ich-Entwicklung und geschichtlicher Wandel, in: E. Erikson, *Identität und Lebenszyklus*, 11–54.

There are several ways of interpreting the message. One option is to accept Gerd Althoff's concept, which centers on attempting to describe the more or less binding game rules involved in resolving disputes among the imperial elites in connection with the traditional German *Verfassungsgeschichte* and anthropological findings.[20] However, the concept has been recently criticized due to a number of pragmatic and methodological reasons: Steffan Patzold challenges the obligatory nature of Althoff's postulated rules,[21] while Philipp Buc warns against an inadvertent use of narrative sources and points out the chronicle of Liutprand of Cremona as an illustrative example with respect to the role of political rituals in the context of Liutprand's narrative.[22] Although he thus indirectly proves—at least in the discourse[23] of early medieval Latin historiography—that the concept of the political ritual was alive and well, he also succeeds in complicating the connections between literary discourse and social praxis. He simultaneously points out that even contemporaries may not all have perceived a given ritual in the same way and that it was consequently of the utmost importance that the development and significance of such a ritual were perceived and described in the "correct" way. A medieval writer could easily have implemented the description of a "ritual" as a narrative strategy tool.[24]

Let us take a look at Widukind's description of the situation involving the dukes defeated by Henry, i.e. Burchard II of Swabia and Arnulf of Bavaria. Both mentions are to be found within the space of one paragraph and are very close in terms of content as well as in terms of formulation. Both dukes are described as realizing that they are unable to defy the

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[20] See e.g. Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus-Verlag, 1997). On the concept of the *Verfassungsgeschichte*, see František Graus, "Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters," 529–589.

[21] Stephan Patzold, "'. . . inter pagensium nostrorum gladios vivimus': Zu den 'Spielregeln' der Konfliktführung in Niederlothringen zur Zeit der Ottonen und frühen Salier," *ZRG GA* 118 (2001): 58–99. Nevertheless, it is true that giving concrete evidence of violations of rules cannot shatter the existence of these rules, unless a certain critical boundary is transgressed.

[22] Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 15–50.

[23] Michel Foucault, *Diskurs, autor, genealogie* (Prague: Svoboda, 1994), 7–20. Discourse delineates limits of the possible and does not rule out author's intention: e.g. Widukind (and his contemporaries) believes in an importance of relics, which enables Widukind to advocate the Corvey monastery interests by means of stressing the significance of St Vitus relics preserved there, see Matthias Becher, "Vitus von Corvey und Mauritius von Magdeburg: Zwei sächsische Heilige in Konkurrenz," *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 147 (1997): 235–250.

[24] Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 19–21, 34.

king, consequently submitting to Henry and pledging the allegiance of their cities and people. The accounts differ only in one detail: in Arnulf's case, Widukind adds that the king accepted him with due honours, calling him a friend.[25] Widukind's account of the subjugation of the Hugh, duke of Francia, is described in similar terms.[26] The account of Wichmann's submission to authority may be considered relatively interesting, as Widukind does not speak of subjugation to the king, but rather of concluding peace with the ruler. However, as in the above mentioned cases, Wichmann's decisions are motivated by reason.[27]

The case of Adalbert, king of Italy, is somewhat out of line with this concept, as the humbled enemy ruler is forced to pledge his allegiance to the king before an assembled army. However, Widukind does not claim that Adalbert actually submitted to Otto as did the South German dukes. Instead, he speaks of a renewal of loyalty.[28]

The campaign against Hugh the Black, duke of Burgundy, is also worth noting. Far from content with the size of the inherited kingdom, Otto had simply "conquered Hugo with arms and so subjugated", according to Widukind.[29] According to the monk of Corvey, it is thus neither reason

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[25] *Widukindi Libri tres* 1.27, 39–40: "Hic (*Burchard*) cum esset bellator intolerabilis, sentiebat tamen, quia valde prudens erat, congressionem regis sustinere non posse, tradidit semet ipsumei cum universis urbibus et populo suo. . . . Videns autem Arnulfus, quia resistere regi non sufficeret, apertis portis egressus est ad regem, tradito semet ipso cum omni regno suo. Qui honorifice ab eo susceptus amicus regis apellatus est."; On the concept of *amicitia*, see Verena Epp, *Amicitia: Zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer, politischer und geistlicher Beziehungen im frühen Mittelalter*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 44 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1999).

[26] *Widukindi Libri tres* 3.5, 107: "Huga autem expertus potentiam regis virtutemque Saxonum non passus est ultra terminos suos hostiliter intrare, sed pergenti in eandem expeditionem anno sequenti occurrit iuxta fluvium qui dicitur Car, manus dedit iuxtaque imperium regis pactum iniit, utilisque permansit."; Ibid., 2.27, 89: "Post haec Immo, re vera nescio an falso, arma sumit contra regem, et media hieme circumdatus exercitu se pariter cum urbe tradidit, ac deinceps fidelis et utilis permansit".

[27] Ibid., 2.11, 75–76: "Wichmannus . . . conversus pacem fecit cum rege, quia prudentissimus erat, et utilis ac fidelis in finem permansit".

[28] Ibid., 3.11, 110: "Ubi cum conventus fieret, Bernharius manus filii sui Adalberhti suis manibus implicans, licet olim Hugonem fugiens regi subderentur, tunc tamen renovata fide coram omni exercitu famulatui regis se cum filio subiugavit; et ita dimissus in Italiam remeavit cum gratia et pace."; Widukind connects the fidelitas with complying with certain obligations and, by extension, keeping peace, see Schröder, *Völker und Herrscher*, 73–77. According to Schröder *fidem dare* means rather "vouch for", not necessarily enter a feudal or generally subordinated tie. See the promise of Polish magnates to Wichmann after laying down his arms in *Widukindi Libri tres* 3.69, 145. On the importance of this formula in the carolingian period, see Stuart Arlie, "Semper fideles?", 129–143.

[29] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.35, 94–95: "Rex autem de die in diem proficiens paterno regno nequaquam est contentus, sed abiit Burgundiam, regem cum regno in suam accepit potestatem. Hugonem alterum armis edomuit ac sibi subiectum fecit; . . ."

nor renewal of mutual relationships, but force of arms and direct coercion which plays the central role.

However, once the king's close relatives, i.e. his brother Henry and son Liudolf become involved, Widukind's accounts of the ensuing situations are somewhat different. In the former case, the chronicler mentions Queen Matilda's intervention, a mutual reconciliation and Henry's subsequent appointment as duke of Bavaria.[30] Two reconciliations with the rebellious Liudolf were likewise concluded with no further conditions on the king's part.[31] A chapter on reconciliation of father and son forms an exception in the context of Widukind's entire work. Widukind claims that the penitent Liudolf sought out his father and—falling to his knees and moving the lookers-on to tears—solicited and finally reached reconciliation, as well as pledging loyalty to his father.[32] For the most part, the subjugation of distinguished nobles is described in similar terms, i.e. with no additional sanctions implemented; the chronicler occasionally mentions short periods of banishment or influential and effective intervention.[33]

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[30] Ibid., 2.36, 95: "Igitur cum omnia regna coram eo silerent et potestati ipsius omnes hostes cederent, monitu et intercessione sanctae matris eius recordatus est multis laboribus fatigati fratris prefecitque eum regno Boioariorum, Berhtoldo iam defuncto, pacem atque concordaim cum eo faciens, qua usque in fidem fideliter perduravit".

[31] Ibid., 3.32, 119: "Ad haec rex: 'A vobis non exigo iuramentum, nisi pacis et concordiae consilium, in quantum positis, adiuvetis.' Et hoc dato in fide ac pace eum dimisit."; Ibid., 3.38, 121: "Interventu proinde principum iterum Liudolfus cum sociis urbe egressus, dum mense integro et dimidio obsidertur, pacem obtinuit usque ad condictum diem, dum de his causis diiudicaretur, locusque consilii apud Fridisleri notabatur. Rex inde in patriam reversus".

[32] Ibid., 3.40, 122: "Exercitandi gratia venerationem agens rex in loco qui dicitur Sueldun, filius patri nudatis prosternitur, intima tactus poenitentia, oratione flebili patris primum, deinde omnium presentium lacrimas extorquet. Amore itaque paterno susceptus in gratiam spondet se obtemperaturum consensurumque omni paterne voluntati."; On tears and barefoot pace as a means of reconciliation, see Matthias Becher, " 'Cum lacrimis et gemitu': Vom Weinen der Sieger und Besiegten im frühen und hohen Mittelalter," in *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, edited by Gerd Althoff. VuF 51 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001), 25–52; Klaus Schreiner, " 'Nudis pedibus'. Barfüssgkeit als religiöses und politisches Ritual," in *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, edited by Gerd Althoff. VuF 51 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001), 53–123.

[33] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.11, 78: "Evurhardus autem audiens de nece Thancmari et defectione suorum militum, fractus animo prosternitur captivo suo, veniam petit ac nequiter promeruit."; Ibid., 2.13, 78: "Suasione quoque optimi inprimis viri et omni religione probatissimi Frithurici, successoris Hildiberhti archiepiscopi, Evurhardus adiit regem, supplex veniam deposcit, se suaque omnia ipsius arbitrio tradens. Ne igitur ingens scelus inemendatum maneret, quasi in exilium in Hildinensem urbem a rege dirigitur. Sed non post multum temporis in gratiam clementer recipitur et honori pristino redditur."; Ibid., 2.25, 88: Frederick of Mainz "in brevi vero utrisque clementer ingnoscit, in sui gratiam suscepit et honori pristino reddidit."; Ibid., 2.27, 89: "Post haec Immo, re vera nescio an falso, arma sumit contra regem, et media hieme circumdatus exercitu se pariter cum urbe tradidit, ac

However, as one ventures beyond the borders of the former Carolingian Empire, a certain shift is visible in both Widukind's perception of the events he observes as well as in the resulting accounts of such events. The Danes, Obotrites, Daleminci and others were generally defeated and taxed.[34] Unconditional peace with the Slavs was impossible until the king's honour was first complied with.[35] Prince Stoinef was killed when attempting flight and the king had his killer rewarded.[36] Duke Henry had the Hungarian princes defeated at Lechfeld hanged.[37]

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deinceps fidelis et utilis permansit."; Ibid., 2.28, 91: "Quos cum rex suscepisset, aliquanto tempore custodiae mancipatione castigavit. Postea suae gratiae lenitate sibi associans in pace dimisit."; Ibid., 3.60, 136: "Ductus exercitus contra Wichmannum tertia vice vix obtinuit, ut in fide Geronis filiique sui susciperetur, ipsique apud imperatorem obtinerent, quo patria coniugisque patrimonio cum gratia imperiali frueretur. Iniussus sacramentum terribile dedit se contra imperatorem imperatorisque regnum numquam aliquid inique consilio aut actu facturum. Ita fide data in pace est dimissus et bonis promissionibus ab imperatore erectus".

[34] Ibid., I. 35, 50–51: "Post haec Prag adiit cum omni exercitu Boemiorum urbem, regemque eius in deditionem accepit; de quo quaedam mirabilia predicantur, quae quia non probamus, silenntio tegi iudicamus. Frater tamen erat Bolizlavi, qui quamdiu vixit imperatoris fidelis et utilis mansit. Igitur rex Bohemias tributarias faciens reversus est in Saxoniam."; Ibid., 1.36, 51: "Cumque vicinae gentes a rege Heinrico factae essent tributariae, Apodriti, Wilti, Hevelli, Dalamanci, Boemi, Redarii et pax esset."; Ibid., 1.40, 59: "Cum autem omnes in circuitu nationes subiecisset, Danos, qui navali latrocinio Fresones incursabant, cum exercitu adiit vicitque et tributarios faciens, regem eorum nomine Chnubam baptismum percipere fecit. Perdomitis itaque cunctis circumquque gentibus, postremo Romam proficisci statuit, sed infirmitate correptus iter intermissit."; Ibid., 2.3, 70: Boleslav after a fourteen-year conflict . . . "ex eo regi fidelis servus et utilis permansit . . ."; Ibid., 2.21, 85: "Fuit autem quidam Sclavus a rege Heinrico relictus, qui iure gentis paterna successione dominus esset eorum qui dicuntur Heveldi, dictus Tugumir. Hic pecunia multa captus et maiori promissione persuasus professus est se prodere regionem. Unde quasi occulte elapsus venit in urbem quae dicitur Brennaburg, a populoque agnitus et ut dominus susceptus, in brevi quae promisit implevit. Nam nepotem suum, qui ex omnibus principibus gentis supererat, ad se invitans dolo captum interfecit urbemque cum omni regione ditione regiae tradidit. Quo facto omnes barbarae nationes usque ad Oderam fluvium simili modo tributis regalibus se subiugarunt".

[35] Ibid., 3.53, 132: "Imperator ad haec respondit /to Slavic envoys/: pacem quidem eis nequaquam negare, sed omnimodis dare non posse, nisi iniuriam perpetratam digno honore ac emendatione purgarent".

[36] Ibid., 3.55, 134–135: "Stoinef autem colle eminenti cum equitibus eventum rei expectabat. Socios inire fugam cernens fugit et ipse lucoque quodam cum duobus satellitibus repertus a viro militari, cuius vocabulum erat Hosed, certamine fatigatus armisque nudatus capite caesus est."; Ibid., 3.55, 135: "Posterea luce caput subreguli in campo positum, circaque illud septigenti captivorum capite caesi, eiusque consiliarius oculis erutis linguaes privatus in medioque cadaverum inutilis relictus".

[37] Ibid., 3.48, 128: "Tres duces gentis Ungariae capti ducique Heinrico presentati mala morte, ut digni erant, multati sunt, suspendio namque crepuerunt".

However, Widukind's *Chronicle* hardly makes any absolute distinctions. On the one hand, the image of e.g. the Polabian Slavs or the Hungarians is presented as purely negative, while on the other hand, Mieszko is seen as the emperor's "friend".[38] Moreover, Widukind labels both Mieszko and Boleslav as kings. On pledging allegiance to the king, Wenceslaus and his younger brother Boleslav were perceived as "loyal and useful",[39] i.e. characterized in much the same way the emperor's nobles themselves were labelled. Wenceslaus was considered "according to various accounts, a very devout man"[40] while, in Widukind's eyes, Boleslav was perceived as "keen" and "a ready counsel".[41] Boleslav's "one thousand riders" were to contribute to Otto's victory in the Battle of Lechfeld.[42] Widukind also mentions Otto's mistress, the mother of Archbishop William, of noble Slavonic descent.[43] It therefore seems that Widukind considers the Přemyslid princes as well as the Piast ruler members of his own world, i.e. people whose connections to King Henry or Otto in turn associate them with Saxony.

What, however, does the term *servus* as used by Widukind mean? The chronicler uses it in two distinct ways, the first associated with a "private" person and the second in connection with a ruler. One of the first chapters of the chronicle—in which Widukind describes the interrelationship between the "Saxons"[44] and the Merovingians—may be used to illustrate the case. The ninth chapter of the first volume mentions king Theuderich sending his servant Iringo to Hermanafrid, king of Thuringia. Hermanafrid, however, declined to negotiate with him on account of his humble origin. Vowing to humiliate the Thuringian king, the enraged Theuderich embarked on a campaign to do so at the head of a large army.[45] In this

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[38] Ibid., 3.69, 144: (Wichmann) "Misacam amicum imperatoris bello lascesserent; quod eum minime latuit".

[39] Ibid., 1.35, 50: "Post haec Prag adiit cum omni exercitu Boemiorum urbem, regemque eius in deditionem accepit; de quo quaedam mirabilia predicantur, quae quia non probamus, silenntio tegi iudicamus. Frater tamen erat Bolizlavi, qui quamdiu vixit imperatoris fidelis et utilis mansit."; Ibid., 2.3, 70 "Boleslav after a fourteen-year conflict . . . ex eo regi fidelis servus et utilis permansit . . ."; On the "fidelitas", see n. 782.

[40] *Widukindi Libri tres* 2.3, 68: ". . . ut ferunt, dei cultura religiosissimum . . ."

[41] Ibid., 2.3, 69: ". . . acerrimus consilio . . ."

[42] Ibid., 3.44, 125.

[43] Ibid., 3.74, 150: "Cuius /William's/ mater, licet peregrina, nobili tamen genere procreata".

[44] Most recently on formation of the Saxon identity in the ninth–eleventh centuries, see Matthias Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des sächsichen Herzogtums im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert.* Historische Studien 444 (Husum: Matthiesen, 1996).

[45] Ibid., 1.9, 12: "Secundum haec verba Irminfridus respondit legato amicitiam quidem sui et propinquitatem Thiadrico non negare, mirari tamen non posse, quomodo usurpare vellet prius imperium quam libertatem; servum natum, et quomodo sui quaereret

case, the "personal servitude" of a king's subject[46] perfectly corresponds to one ruler's "servitude" to another, hence enabling Widukind to compare the two.

A number of further mentions let us explore with what Widukind associates "servitude". In an account of the acquisition of the relics of St. Vitus, servitude is associated with paying tribute, while freedom is only achieved by dominion over others.[47] Loss of freedom is associated with defeat.[48] Moreover, the monk of Corvey also establishes connections between subjugation and paying tribute.[49] Widukind's perception of Otto's rule in

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dominium? proprio servo non posse manus dare. Legatus contra haec satis commotus: 'Malem', inquit, 'hoc caput meum tibi tradere quam huiuscemodi verba a te audire, sciens ea multo sanguine Francorum atque Thuringorum diluenda'. Et haec dicens, reversus est ad Thiadricum; quae audivit non celat. Thiadricus autem nimiam iram vultu celans sereno: 'Oportet nos', inquit, 'ad servitium Irminfridi festinare, quatinus, qui libertate privamur, inani saltem vita fruamur'. Et cum gravi exercitu appropians terminis Thuringorum . . ."

[46] The term *servus* in medieval Latin means rather a serf than a slave.

[47] *Widukindi Libri tres* 1.34, 48: "Colito itaque tantum patronum, quo adveniente Saxonia ex serva facta est libera et ex tributaria multarum gentium domina".

[48] Ibid., 3.67, 141–142: "Eo quoque tempore Gero preses Sclavos qui dicuntur Lusiki potentissime vicit et ad ultimam servitutem coegit, non sine sui tamen gravi vulnere nepotisque optimi viri casu, caeterorum quoque quam plurimorum nobilium virorum".

[49] Ibid., 1.35, 50: "Post haec Prag adiit cum omni exercitu Boemiorum urbem, regemque eius in deditionem accepit; . . . Frater tamen erat Bolizlavi, qui quamdiu vixit imperatoris fidelis et utilis mansit. Igitur rex Bohemias tributarias faciens reversus est in Saxoniam."; Ibid., 1.39, 57–58: "Rex vero victor reversus modis omnibus gratiarum actiones divino honori, ut dignum erat, solvebat pro vicoria de hostibus sibi divinitus concessa, tributumque quod hostibus dare consuevit, divino cultui mancipavit et legationibus pauperum deservire constituit."; Ibid., 1.40, 59: "Cum autem omnes in circuitu nationes subiecisset, Danos, qui navali latrocinio Fresones incursabant, cum exercitu adiit vicitque et tributarios faciens, regem eorum nomine Chnubam baptsmum percipere fecit. Perdomitis itaque cunctis circumquque gentibus, postremo Romam proficisci statuit, sed infirmitate correptus iter intermissit."; Ibid., 2.21, 85: "Quo facto omnes barbarae nationes usque ad Oderam fluvium simili modo tributis regalibus se subiugarunt."; Ibid., 3.53, 132: "Aderat et lagatio barbarorum tributa socios ex more velle tenere; hoc pacto pacem velle, alioquin pro libertate armis certare."; Zdeněk Fiala, "Dva kritické příspěvky," 35, 40–42 regards tribute as a payment for peace without any "legal" ties and points out that nobody derives subjugation in a constitutional sense from the tribute paid to the Hungarians. Hartmut Hoffmann, "Böhmen und das deutsche Reich," 6–7 in contrast, rejects this objection with reference to temporariness of the tribute to the Hungarians, based on a contract. Unfortunately, he does not properly consider that this information appears in a chronicle praising the Ottonians and Saxony rather than a charter. If a Hungarian chronicle had existed then, the image would be quite different. A similar view appears in Thietmar's description of Saxon servitude to the Bohemians and Svatopluk precisely because of tribute payment, see *Thietmari Chronicon* 6.99, 392: "Boemii regnante Zuetopulco quondam fuerant principes nostri. Hinc a nostris parentibus quotannis solvitur census, et episcopos in sua regione Marierum dicta habuit; quod omnis et successores sui superbia tumidi perdiderunt, quia omnis humiliter euangelio teste crescit et arrogantiae sublimitas minoratur. Sine maximo timore in hiis nullus dominatur provinciis. Caritas pura gemit exclusa, quia regnante periurium

Lotharingia—as seen through the eyes of count Immo—is that of Lotha-
ringian "servitude".[50]

Although the above mentioned examples do provide a clearer image of
how Widukind went about rendering the conflicts between various types
of enemies as well as clarifying his concept of servitude, the analysis hardly
forms a sufficient basis for establishing a simple interpretation mechanism
allowing us to comprehend the Ottonians' approach to the Přemyslid
dynasty throughout the chronicle. On one hand, they are listed as one
of the "nations" paying tribute to King Henry,[51] thus distinguishing them
from the Bavarian and Swabian dukes as well as the Lorrainian nobles, the
latter recorded as complaining about their "servitude" elsewhere in the
chronicle.[52] On the other hand, Widukind ranks the Přemyslids among
the "loyal and useful", i.e. those who may negotiate with the king. They
thus stand, at least according to Widukind, halfway between utter barba-
rians and ruling nobles, the latter considered as belonging to King Otto's
own domain.[53]

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cum fraude socia."; Reuter's comment that tribute might have been regarded by the Franks
as a sign of domination, whereas those who paid it might have perceived the tribute as
a symbolic gift is methodically more important, see Reuter, "Plunder and Tribute," 85–97.
Recently on the role of gift in archaic European society with stressing a certain expediency
in their exchange and rejecting the hypothesis of "gift economy", see Curta, "Merovingian
and Carolingian Gift Giving," 671–699. For the sake of comparison, it is useful to realize
how the Ottonian regnum proper and its kings were initially seen by its western neigh-
bours, see e.g. *Flodoardi Annales ad A. 921*, 369: "Heinricum principem Transrhenensem",
or ibid., 928, 378: . . . "Heinricus, Germaniae princeps. . ."; *Richeri Historiarum libri quat-
uor* 1.35, 70: ". . . Heinrici Saxonię ducis . . ." From secondary literature, see at least Joachim
Ehlers, "Elemente mittelalterlichen Nationsbildung in Frankreich (10.–13. Jahrhudert)," HZ
231 (1980): 565–587; Heinz Löwe, "Kaisertum und Abendland in ottonischer und frähsalis-
cher Zeit," HZ 196 (1963): 529–562; Karl F. Werner, "Das hochmittelalterliche Imperium im
politischen Bewußtsein Frankreichs, 10.–12. Jahrhundert," HZ 200 (1965): 1–60.

[50] Ibid., 2.28, 90, Count Immo of Lotharingia says: "Et nunc quae necessitas cogit, ut
serviamus Saxonibus, nisi nostra discordia? . . . modo, ut scitis, pro merito honore contu-
melia ab eo affectus, armis circumdatus, pene ex libero servus factus sum".

[51] Ibid., 1.36, 51: "Cumque vicinae gentes a rege Heinrico factae essent tributariae, Apo-
driti, Wilti, Hevelli, Dalamanci, Boemi, Redarii et pax esset."; A charter of May 1, 991 by
Otto III to the archbishopric of Magdeburg proves that Bohemia really paid a tribute, see
Diplomata Ottonis III., no. 71, 478–479.

[52] See n. 50.

[53] In the case of King Henry the situation is easier, Widukind held Saxony and Fran-
conia his main sphere of activity. But he also regarded Bavaria and Swabia as parts of
Henry's kingdom, as follows from his statement at the end of the chapter on subjugation
of Dukes Burchardt and Arnulf, see ibid., 1.27, 40: "Cumque regnum sub antecessoribus suis
ex omni parte confusum civilibus atque externis bellis colligeret, pacificaret et adunaret,
signa movit contra Galliam et Lotharii regnum."; He intends to extend his power to Lotha-
ringia—ibid., 1.33, 45.

The *Annals of Quedlinburg* also contain several mentions of "conspiracies" against the king, dividing the subsequently defeated rebels according to their "rank". Henry, the king's brother, only pleaded for and was granted mercy;[54] the Frankish duke Eberhard, brother of King Conrad and one of the confidants of Otto's father, King Henry, was deposed; Wichmann II, a Saxon noble, received mercy after falling to his knees in front of the king.[55] However, other unknown warriors were even executed or banished.[56] Although the anonymous chronicler makes no mention of the subjugation of the Slavonic prince, his work may still be of some assistance in interpreting Widukind's work. A mention regarding the execution of rebels of low standing taking part in one of the described uprisings commands special attention. In case capital punishment were only reserved for those of humble origin, the report concerning the rewarded murder and perhaps even the execution of the "barbarian" prince may be interpreted as Widukind's attempt at denying the executed rebels their (rightful) status.[57]

The now known *Annales Hildesheimenses* is unfortunately only documented in an eleventh century manuscript and not entirely consistent with the original *Annales Hildesheimenses*, it is little more than its digest. However, an entry regarding the year 992 and outlining the developments of a campaign against the Polabian Slavs is presented in sufficient detail.[58] The entry details the actions of the army forces, led by Boleslav II himself, as well as the subsequent peace arrangement, concluded soon after.

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[54] *Annales Quedlinburgenses ad A. 938*, 461: "Heinricus autem, frater regis, assumptis adiutoribus supplicando regi gratiam suscepit".

[55] Ibid., ad A. 938, 461: "Everhardus dux Francorum, et Wigmandus Saxonicus atque improbus Thancmer inani consensu conspiravere in regem, sed dei gratia cito revelante regi illa iniqua conspiratio sapienter opressa est. Nam Tancmer miserabiliter occisus, alii autem truncati suspensi sunt. Evurhardus privatus honore degradatus est, Wigman vero supplicando pedibus regis reconciliatus est".

[56] Ibid., ad A. 941, 463: "Otto rex de insidiis coniuratorum contra se liberatus statim pascha in Quedelinburgensis civitate quosdam, quorum nomina sunt Erik, Reinward, Varin, Ascheric, Bacco, Hermon, occidi, quosdam vero exilio relegari iussit".

[57] In contrast to the Carolingian period which preferred generous treatment of "external" enemies, whereas "internal" adversaries were punished strictly, the ratio is inversed in sources of the Ottonian period, see Thomas Scharff, "Der rächende Herrscher: Über den Umgang mit besiegten Feinden in der ottonischen Historiographie," *FmSt* 36 (2002): 241–253, at 241–243.

[58] *Annales Hildesheimenses ad A. 992*, 25: "Otto rex cum valida suorum manu iterum Brennaburg adiit, venitque ad eum Heinricus dux Baioariorum et Bolizlao Boemanorum princeps cum ingenti multitudine in auxilium regi.... Verum dominus rex, bonis Sclavorum promissionibus confidens suisque principibus resistere nolens, pacem illis iterum concessit et inde in patriam remeavit; sed illi more solito mentiti sunt per omnia".

Otto III is said to have assented to his nobles' wishes and only thus agreed to the peace proposal.

The annals of the Niederaltaich Abbey present a rich, albeit rather problematic account. The text is only preserved in a very late transcript, moreover one compiled as late as after 1073, even if on the basis of the now lost *Annals of Hersfeld* and the *Annales Hildesheimenses*. It is used here only due to the fact that the reports included therein are considered to have been fully adopted from lost sources.[59] The *Annales Altahenses* include an entry regarding the year 973 which details the first instance of a Přemyslid prince attending the assembly in eighty years' time, noting in particular his arriving with a large amount of money, while his fearful brother-in-law Mieszko sent his son as a hostage.[60] However, one year later, both princes were already allied to Henry II (the Wrangler) conferring with him in secret.[61] Later, with Henry imprisoned and Bohemia plundered, Boleslav and a handful of allies approached the emperor, entreating Otto and his armies to leave. In return, he promised subjecting himself as well as his "people" to the emperor.[62] Such was actually the course of events at the Easter Diet, where he was respectfully accepted by the nobles, held in high regard and finally dismissed with a wealth of gifts.[63] The Danish king

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[59] *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, XII; O. Meyer, in Wilhelm Wattenbach and Robert Holtzmann, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Die Zeit der Sachsen und Salier*, vol 2, Die Zeitalter des Investiturstreits, 1050–1125, edited by Franz-Josef Schmale (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buschgesellschaft, 1967), 545–548.

[60] *Annales Altahenses maiores ad A. 973*, 11: "Boneszlawo [dux Sclavienus] regiis eum inumerabiliter donans illuc venit muneribus, Miszego etiam dux Sclavienus, terror ecompulsus, filium mittit obsidem".

[61] Ibid., ad A. 974, 12: "Eodem anno Heinricus dux Bawariorum et Abraam episcopus inierunt consilium cum Bolizlavone et Misigone, quomodo imperatori suum regnum disperderet; et hoc quidem tam infaeliciter fuit disputatum, ut, si divina miseratio non provideret et insuper ingenium Berahtoldi non disperderet, pene tota Europa destituta atque deleta.... Enimvero Heinricus dux illico, ut audivit legationem eorum, Domino opitulante sine ulla dilatione se praesentavit domino imperatori cum eis omnibus, qui erant in eo consilio, ut ille ex eis fecisset, quicquid sibi placuisset. Continuo transmisit ducem Ingelemheim atque Abrahamum episcopum Corobiae, alios quoque huc et illuc".

[62] Ibid., ad A. 977, 13: "Otdo imperator iunior in Bohemia duxit exercitum et maximam partem terrae illorum incendio vastavit. Ipseque quoque imperator ibi non parvam partem militum exercitus per fraudes et insidias provincialium amisit. Lues autem dissenteriae exercitum multum vastabat. Venit ergo ad imperatorem Bolizlawo cum paucis pacifice, per amicos suos et per semet ipsum supplicans, ut domum rediret, fideliter promittens se cito secuturum cum muneribus et donis sibi congruis et sui deditionem et totius gentis suae deditionem et subiectionem, quod et impetratum".

[63] Ibid., ad A. 978, 13: "Venit Bolizlavo ad imperatorem in sancto pascha, ut promisit, et honorifice per primates regni susceptus et cum honore habitus et magnifice regalibus muneribus honoratus, fide facta, cum pace dimissus, domum rediit".

Harald Bluetooth was subject to rather more severe conditions: he was forced to pledge his son and all of his riches as hostage and bond as well as committing himself to reinstated payment of tribute.[64]

What do all of these accounts imply? Some of them relate the Přemyslid prince's presence in the imperial assembly as well as his support of the emperor. Negotiations between the king and Boleslav are described as having much in common with the king's dealings with, for example, his enemies among the imperial elites: the decisive role was that of the mediating nobles who were able to provide Boleslav with a guarantee of reprieve in case he were willing to retreat. Unfortunately, it is impossible to provide a more detailed outline of these interrelationships based solely on the documents available. A mention of Boleslav imploring the emperor to leave the pillaged Czech lands and return "home" forms one of the very few—but very valuable—exceptions.[65] The account is proof of the fact, that anonymous annalist did not consider Boleslav′s dominion as a space he wanted to associate with the king or which he in turn would have identified with. According to the chronicle, Boleslav—unlike the imperial nobles—acted not only of his own accord, but also on behalf of his "people".

In any case, the amassed documents should finally be sufficient to allow for constructing a comprehensive image of the Bohemian prince in the context of tenth century imperial resources. Let us therefore attempt to recapitulate and subsequently also interpret Widukind's report which stood at the outset of the inquiry. Analyses of Widukind's chronicle and other tenth century annals provide us with a number of findings: while Přemyslid princes are not regarded as imperial nobles, they were—by means of paying tribute—perceived as subject to the king or emperor; moreover, they were expected to maintain "loyalty" in the sense of "honouring that which has been negotiated". Apart from tribute, both the *Annales Altahenses* and Widukind mention the military aid Boleslav I as well as his son provided for the king. Unlike the "barbarian" princes, they are ascribed status similar to the dukes of the empire and treated as

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[64] Ibid., ad A. 974, 12: "Cumque hoc /plundering of the land by Harold/ nunciatum fuisset Otdoni imperatori, adunavit suum exercitum, adiensque ad Haroldum, eique grande bellum voluit inferre. Attamen Haroldus misit nuncios suos ad imperatorem eique expendit omnem thesaurum, ut eum in pace dimississet. Imperator igitur, nunciisque irritatus, reversus est ad suam regionem, ut talem exercitum congregavit, quominus potuisset contra iri. Postaquam Haroldus rex misit filium suum domitanti ad obsidem omnemque thesaurum, quem habuit, insuperque promisit illi censum dare, quem antea dedit, tunc cessavit imperator suae servitiae, Haroldum in pace dimisit".

[65] Ibid., ad A. 977, 13: "...ut domum rediret..."

such. However, they are not equal to kings. Accounts of mutual encounters illustrate this point rather clearly: while mutual parity was closely observed in encounters with the kings of France,[66] Přemyslids approached the king on his "own turf". The closest parallel to the account of talks involving Boleslav could perhaps be found in a description of a situation experienced by the Italian king Adalbert: according to Widukind, he likewise pledged allegiance to the king before his assembled armies. However, since the encounter did not take place in Italy, i.e. Adalbert's *regnum*, but in Otto's empire, incorporating the peace arranged with Boleslav into a fixed negotiation framework remains impossible. In concluding the analysis, it is possible to say for certain little more than that Widukind perceived Boleslav as a ruler subject to the king, in some ways a part of his world while far from it in many others. The analysis of one "ritual" has thus led to a completely different issue, i.e. the perception of the "Other" in Ottonian historiography[67] and the question of identity.[68] It is precisely the issue of the "Other" and the creation of a joint past which has allowed chroniclers to become conscious of their own selves and thus contribute to the gradual development of separate collective identities as well as the individual medieval power structures developing around these identities.[69] The views of the Saxon chronicler Widukind as well as of other contemporary writers were circulated even among the first clerics active in Slavonic lands, enabling them to define their identity in contrast with the "Other" and thus embark on a search for a common raison d'être of the power structures developing east of the empire.[70]

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[66] On the course of the meeting of the "French" and "German" kind, see Ingrid Voss, *Herrschertreffen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zu den Begegnungen der ostfränkischen und westfränkischen Herrscher im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert sowie der deutschen und französischen Könige vom 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Beihefte des AfKuG 26 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987), 123–198.

[67] In this regard, Volker Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde: Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck*, Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 17–23 pointed out the commonly appearing "hierarchy of strangeness" and also dealt with authorial intention of the chronicler. Proceeding from Strzelczyk's work, David Fraesdorf, *Der barbarische Norden: Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*. Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 5 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 179–187 pointed out various criteria of "otherness" (religious, cultural, political) and a different level of their importance. On varied attitude of the ruler towards external and internal enemies in Widukind's chronicle, see also Bagge, *Kings, Politics, and the Right Order*, 48–53.

[68] Fraesdorf, *Der barbarische Norden*, 179–181.

[69] On the example of Saxony, see Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens*.

[70] On concrete evidence, see chap. 3. 2.

2. *Legenda Christiani as a Tenth-Century Source*

There were (and still are) large controversies about the authenticity of *Legenda Christiani.* According to historians and philologists, it could have been written at the end of the tenth century, in the twelfth century, or even two centuries later, c. 1350. The oldest complete text can be found no earlier than in manuscript G5 (K), filed in the fund of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter in the Archiv Pražského Hradu.[71] It was created between 1320 and 1340 for the last Prague Bishop John IV of Dražice and besides the *Legenda Christiani* it includes a number of other legends about Czech saints together with the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague and its continuators.[72] In the next few pages arguments for the authenticity of this legend will be summarized.

The style and vocabulary of its author confirm that the text we now know was written by one author.[73] Like Josef Pekař, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský points out that at times, the fragments *Recordatus aviae suae* and *Subtrahente se* and also the Bödec manuscript of the *Legenda Christiani* (according Rudolf Urbánek it should be an independent text, the Bödec legend) appear to be parts of a complete text,[74] and that their style is identical to

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[71] See Bretholz's description in *Cosmae Chronica*, LXXVI–LXXVIII.

[72] Zdeňka Hledíková, *Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic, 1301–1343* (Prague: Karolinum, 1991), s. 154–159. The question marks on the following pages indicate that available manuscript descriptions do not refer to the relevant data.

[73] Josef Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká: Ke kritice legend o sv. Ludmile a sv. Václavu," *ČČH* 8 (1902), 408–412, and Josef Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden und die Echtheit Christians* (Prague: Wiesner, 1906), 82–84, 172–176; Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "O Kristiána, 2: Rudolf Urbánek. Legenda tzv. Kristiána ve vývoji předhusitských legend ludmilských i václavských a její autor," *Naše věda* 27 (1950): 158–173, 197–216, at 158–159, 197–200. Marie Julínková, "Slovník Kristiánovy legendy a jeho charakteristika," PhD diss., Masarykova Univerzita, 1959 concludes that the language of the *Vulgata* had a substantial impact on Christian, see ibid., 139–140. In many regards, the work proceeds from Pekař's and Vilikovský's views, see Jan Vilikovský, Review of *Prameny X. století legendy Kristiánovy,* by Václav Chaloupecký. *Naše věda* 20 (1941): 81–94. Rudolf Ambro, "Skladba vedlějších vět, vazeb participiálních a infinitivních v Kristiánově legendě: Příspěvek ke stylistickému rozboru," PhD diss., Masarykova Univerzita, 1954. Concerning the issue in question, author's reflections of unity of the style of the legend are most interesting, see ibid., 184–205. Precious additions presented more recent works Hana Jedličková, "Über den Gebrauch der Kasus und Präpositionen in der Legende Christians und in Ut Annuncietur," *AUC* Phil. et Hist. 4 (1960): 55–77; Alena Dohnalová-Hadravová, "Ablativy absolutní v Kristiánově legendě," *LF* 109 (1986): 141–146; Dana Martínková, "Sémantické poznámky ke Kristiánově legendě," *LF* 109 (1986): 72–75; Dana Martínková, "Příspěvek k poznání slovní zásoby Kristiánovy legendy," *LF* 111 (1988): 83–87. These articles confirmed results of previous research to a large extent, since they gathered new arguments as regards the unity of Christian's style and vocabulary and their specifics.

[74] Ludvíkovský, "O Kristiána, 2," 198.

Christian's style.[75] The latter is a strong argument against the idea that the *Legenda Christiani* was written at a date much later than that of the fragments, especially since the style in question appears independently in many compositions—the Bödec legend, the *Subtrahente se* and the *Recordatus* (FR, FH).[76] Since the beginning of twentieth century, versions of the above-mentioned short texts *Recordatus aviae suae* and *Subtrahente se* have been found in twelfth century manuscripts.[77] They are, to be sure, not identical to fourteenth-century texts; however, they contain only a few different readings. *Recordatus* and *Subtrahente* also refer to a storyline which they do not render in its entirety.[78] Therefore there is no doubt that the legend was written before 1200.

Table 1. The number of text parallel parts in narration variants.

	FR	FH	K	U1	FP	U2	T	B
FR	X	14	7	4	4	4	1	5
FH	14	X	1	1	2	1	1	6
K	7	1	X	17	3	16	14	2
U1	4	1	17	X	3	21	14	4
FP	4	2	3	3	X	1	2	2
U2	4	1	16	21	1	X	15	4
T	1	1	14	14	2	15	X	4
B	5	6	2	4	2	4	4	X

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[75] Ibid., 199–200.

[76] Ibid., 200.

[77] MZk Brno Rajhrad 387—parch., pol. 12. c.—24,5×17 cm; IV + 241 (recte 233) + III ff., f. 132 and 174 bis, f. 110–119 missing. *Subtrahente se*, fol. 100r–101v. See Vladimír Dokoupil, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny benediktinů v Rajhradě*. Soupis rukopisných fondů Univerzitní knihovny v Brně 4(Prague: SPN, 1966), 188–189. *Passional von Heiligenkreuz | Magnum legendarium Austriacum IV*: Heiligenkreuz 14—parch., 1190–1210: *Subtrahente se*, fol. 227r–227v. Cf. Wilhelm, Wattenbach, "Handschriften des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz," *Archiv* 10 (1851), 594–600; Franz Walliser, *Cistercienser Buchkunst: Heiligenkreuzer Skriptorium in seinem ersten Jahrhundert, 1133–1230* (Heiligenkreuz and Vienna: Heiligenkreuzer Verlag, 1969). Svatojiřský breviář UK Praha 1178 VI G 13 (? FP²)—parch., 12./13. c. (according to the catalogue, 14. c.)—?×? cm: *Recordatus aviae suae*, fol. 491–494. SeeJosef Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in c. r. bibliotheca publica atque universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, vol. 1 (Prague: Regia societas scientiarum Bohemica, 1906), 1:471/ UK Praha 128 VI E 13—parch., 12./13. c.—22x15 cm. It is not easy to identify this manuscript, since Ludvíkovský either dates the manuscript erroneously or does not mention the right shelf mark. Concerning both versions, there were doubts as to whether these are extracts or rather independent texts used by Christianus. Little wonder that it was already the complicated textual preservation of the *Legenda Christiani* which raised doubts and served as an argument for those researchers who dated the legend to the twelfth or even fourteenth century.

[78] Josef Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 1: Námitky Kalouskovy," *ČČH* 9 (1903) 129–130.

The evidence for the authenticity of the Legend regarding its tenth-century origin is, however, problematic. The main argument is that the author of this text addresses the prologue to the St. Adalbert-Vojtěch, Bishop of Prague (982–997). Most of the former attempts to find the positive evidence have failed. The same, however, is true of monographs and articles aiming to falsify the tenth-century origin of this text.[79]

In order to make another step, we have to accept one methodological premise: every historian has to communicate with his or her sources, understand them, and interpret them with the minimum of premises. When doing so, she or he has to accept what they find written until he or she disproves the authenticity of this witness, because it is not possible to discover positive evidence for the authenticity of a source.

It is not very difficult to disprove the attacks against the presence of some phenomena in Christian's literary world that were believed to be the evidence of the legend's later origin. Critics considered the passages where money played an important role as the most critical.[80] Naturally, from the time of St. Wenceslas and St. Ludmila in 920s and 930s, no coinage of Bohemian origin is known. However, in the late tenth century silver coins were minted not only by the Přemyslids, but also by the dukes from the Slavník Family (relatives of the Prague Bishop Adalbert-Vojtěch).[81] It means that there is no reason why Christian, a writer of the late tenth century legend, should not have mentioned almsgiving or mercenaries.

The Problem of St. Ludmila's (†921) cult in early medieval Bohemia before the 1140s was also one of the favourite arguments of sceptics. The latest critique of this legend by Petr Kubín used his idea about the widespread practice of this cult as the argument against its authenticity. He

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[79] See *Wenceslai Hagek a Liboczan Annales Bohemorum*, vol. 4, edited by Gelasius Dobner (Prague: Typis Johannae Sophiae Clauserin, regii typogr. factore Francisco Carolo Unger 1772), 328–332; Josef Dobrovský, *Bořivoj's Taufe: Zugleich eine Probe, wie man alte Legenden für die Geschichte benutzen soll*, Kritische Versuche die ältere böhmische Geschichte von späteren Erdichtungen zu reinigen 1 = Abh. d. kgl. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. (Prague 1803); František Vacek, "Legenda Kristiánova, prameny její a čas sepsání," *ČNM* 77 (1903): 72–85, 395–405, 487–492; 78 (1904): 65–86; Josef Kalousek, "Nejstarší kronika česká?" *Osvěta* 33 (1903): 108–127; Bertold Bretholz, "Cosmas und Christian," *ZVGMSch* 9 (1905): 70–121; Václav Novotný, "O Kristiána," *ČNM*, oddíl duchovědný 104, no. 3–4 (1930): 15–27; Rudolf Urbánek, *Legenda t. zv. Kristiána ve vývoji předhusitských legend ludmilských i václavských a její autor*, vol. 1–2 (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1947–1948); Záviš Kalandra, *České pohanství* (Prague: František Borový, 1947); Zdeněk Fiala, *Hlavní pramen legendy Kristiánovy*, Rozpravy ČSAV, řada společenskovědní 84, no. 1 (Prague: Academia, 1974).
[80] Kalousek, "Nejstarší kronika česká?", 122.
[81] See at least Petráň, *První české mince*.

does not believe that Prague bishops could have had doubts about her holiness after her translation remained in *Legenda Christiani*. He sees the low intensity of Ludmila's cult as unlikely, especially if the author of this legend had pleased St. Vojtěch-Adalbert for approval of copying the text of the legend that was written to strengthen St. Ludmila's cult.[82]

However, we can hardly accept the idea that early medieval bishops were obliged to pursue one continual policy towards the saints. There are also the arguments against this premise in Kubín's work. Cosmas of Prague mentions that bishop Herrmann (1099–1122) doubted Ludmila's holiness; however, he was convinced by a miracle.[83] But two generations later her sanctity was again subject of doubts and it was the bishop of Prague again who tried to weaken her image as a saint.[84]

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[82] Petr Kubín, "Znovu o Kristiána," in *Od knížat ke králům: Sborník ku příležitosti 60. narozenin Josefa Žemličky*, edited by Eva Doležalová and Robert Šimůnek (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2007), 63–72, cf. also Bretholz, "Cosmas und Christian," 90–91 not mentioned by Petr Kubín. See the polemic David Kalhous, "Znovu o Kristiána: Replika," *ČMM* 126 (2007): 411–417, and also Petr Kubín, "Odpověď na repliku Davida Kalhouse o Kristiánovi," *ČMM* 128(2009): 171–183; David Kalhous, "K historické metodě aneb opět nad pravostí Kristiánovy legendy", *ČMM* 128(2009): 177–183.

[83] *Cosmae Chronica* 3.17, 171: "Mox iussu presulis sartago affertur magna prunis ardentibus pena, ubi invocato sancte trinitatis nomine presul eiecit pannum super flammivomos carbones. Mira res, fumiculus et flammicula circa pannum emicuit, sed minime nocuit. Et hoc etiam magni fuit in augmentum miraculi, quod propter nimium ardorem diu non potuit pannus de flammis eripi et tandem ereptus sic visus est integer et firmus, ac si eadem die foret textus".

[84] *Canonici Wissegradensis Continuatio*, 237: "Ecce volente deo Wernherus sarcophagum incorruptum nec igne tactum reperit, ad dominas laetus rediit, et prae gaudio remunerationem postulans, laetitiam nunciavit. O sancte deus! o mirabilis in sanctis suis! o benedicte in operibus tuis! quanta exultatione famulas tuas dignatus es replere, quali visitationis solatio perfundere, quam magno gaudio praesentationis laetificare! In terram deo gratificantes corruunt, lacrimis loca perfundunt et oblitae tristitiae ad levandam thecam currunt, sed quasi stupefactae praesumptionem reprimunt, et vocato sacerdote Pudone, cuius consilio et auxilio foras temptant efferre, et exeuntes ad portam civitatis inveniunt obstructam, serratam et quasi exitui oppositam, quam multo conamine quassatam nimiisque laboribus temptatam nullo modo aperiunt. Et hoc miraculo compunctae in locum, unde exierant, regressa esunt, missoque nuncio ad episcopum Ottonem supplicant, ut veniat, quid agendum sit, decernat. Qui respondit, se non audere facere, nisi prius mittat Romam". (Last sentence is not mentioned in the best manuscript of this text Archiv Pražského Hradu G5.) "Iterum autem praesulem Moraviae Zdiconem implorant, ut desiderium ipsarum impleat. Qui se facturum promittit, si antistitis earum licentiam inveniat. Non cessantes ergo claustricolae a proposito, domini decani Pragensis Henrici Petrique archidiaconi ceterorumque de conventu consilio sarcophagum relevant, aperiunt, et praevisum iuxta altare laetanter recondunt. Nec hoc quoque praetereundum est, quod mirabile et in seculis praedicandum furtum Wernheri declaratur, qui ablata latenter parte corporis beatae Ludmilae, athletae Christi, repatriat, ad construendum teplum deo duos conducit, qui coepto opere mortui sunt, in sequenti enim alii duo, in tertio ipsemet defunctus est. Hiis visis filius eius iussu vicinorum propinquorumque Bohemiam intrat, Gervasio cancellario,

Therefore, the conclusion can be made that both narratives only uphold the competition between the two important neighbouring churches in Prague Castle, St George Monastery and "her" St. Ludmila and St. Vitus cathedral where St. Wenceslas was buried. There is also evidence for Ludmila's veneration as a saint outside the Prague see.[85] Thus, we cannot exclude the existence of the St. Ludmila legend only because there were doubts about her sanctity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The language of the *Legenda Christiani* has also been the subject of debate since the eighteenth century, but the attempts to use linguistics against its authenticity suffered from vagueness.[86] We can only agree with Josef Pekař's remark to this problem—according to him, it makes no sense to use comparative method to confirm or reject the authenticity of language of *Legenda Christiani*, because we are not able to decipher typical language of tenth-century sources.[87]

This does not mean that linguists had nothing to say on this problem, but serious and systematic study was initiated with the first generation of Czech philologists concerned with Medieval Latin, who started their careers in 1930s.[88] For confirming the authenticity of the legend, the studies and reviews of Jaroslav Ludvíkovský (1895–1984) were of the greatest importance. Most of these texts were written in late 1940s and 1950s as a reaction to the monumental monographs of Rudolf Urbánek (1877–1962) and Záviš Kalandra (1902–1950). It was Ludvíkovský and his pupils who confirmed the stylistic unity of the legend. It was also Ludvíkovský who re-examined Kalandra's arguments concerning cursus.[89] First, he proposed

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consanguineo suo, gesta replicat, per quem ammonitus ablata ecclesiae reddidit, in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. *Amen.*"

[85] *Notae necrologicae magdebvrgenses*, edited by Oswald Holder-Egger – Samuel Steinherz, *MGH* SS 30. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1934), 750, known from the 11th-century manuscrpt not only *Passio sancte Ludmile*, but also *Translacio sancte [Lud]mile martyris* are mentioned.

[86] E.g. *Wenceslai Hagek a Liboczan Annales Bohemorum*, vol. 4, 328–332

[87] In his letter to Goll of September 9, 1902, Pekař pointed out that *se stylem se nedá dělat skoro nic (jaký je rozdíl např. mezi Dětmarem Merseburským a Brunonem)./* "one gets almost nothing from a style (e.g. what is the difference between Thietmar of Merseburg and Bruno)", see *Listy úcty a přátelství: Vzájemná korespondence Jaroslava Golla a Josefa Pekaře*, edited by Josef Klik (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1941), 352.

[88] In Bohemia and Moravia.

[89] Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Rytmické klauzule Kristiánovy legendy a otázka jejího datování," *LF* 75 (1951): 169–190. Ludvíkovský's conclusions were developped further by Eva Kamínková, "Rým a rytmus václavské legendy Oportet nos fratres," *LF* 82 (1959): 68–78, 225–234. By means of Ludvíkovský's methods, she dated the *Oportet* to the second half of the eleventh century, rather to its end.

a less rigid definition of the rules of the cursus.[90] He also notes that, had Christian lived and written in the fourteenth century, he would have certainly used the Gregorian cursus.[91] Furthermore, he points out that Cosmas of Prague (d. 1125) and Gallus Anonymus (d. 1119?) do not use the cursus that much, and when they do, they prefer the *cursus velox*. He therefore rejects the idea of a universal use of cursus forms in the twelfth century.[92] When analyzing the *Legenda Christiani* and other tenth-century texts, he points to similar rhythmic structures,[93] much in contrast to the legend *Diffundente sole* in which the cursus is obviously realized by means of drastic syntactic changes.[94] Ludvíkovský did not go so far as to use the results of his study as a proof of authenticity. Instead, his goal was to show that such arguments have little value in the debate over the *Legenda Christiani*.

Of great value for confirming the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani* is the analysis of Dušan Třeštík. This historian uses the proof of Josef Staber who confirmed that *Crescente fide*, one of the tenth-century legends about St. Wenceslas and one of the sources for *Legenda Christiani*, borrowed from *Vita Haimrami*.[95] Through *Crescente fide*, five readings from *Vita Haimrami* found their way to *Legenda Christiani*. However, two of these variants are better preserved in *Legenda Christiani*. It means, as Dušan Třeštík says, that the author of *Legenda Christiani* had to have used

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[90] Ludvíkovský, "Rytmické klauzule," 179, 182–184. Ludvíkovský's innovative approach in the 1950s corresponded with that of the fundamental handbook of medieval Latin, since its authors put emphasis on statistical methods, continuity of prose rhythms and their considerable variability, see Mantello, Frank A.C. et al., *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and a Bibliographical Guide* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 114–118; Tore Janson, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the ninth to the thirteenth Century,* Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 20 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975), the author of the most widely recognised monograph on medieval *cursus* promoted further development of statistical methods and emphasized the necessity of connecting inquiries into the frequency of *cursus* usage with statistical research on frequency of various types of words according to use of accents, see ibid., 19–26. On the basis of concrete materials, he pointed out a considerable spread of the *cursus* in the ninth century throughout Europe, in the tenth century in northern Italy in mixed forms and since the half of the tenth century in a pure form in the area of the present-day Germany thanks to Adalbert of Magdeburg, see ibid., 36–40, 40–45 a 50.

[91] Ludvíkovský, "Rytmické klauzule," 187–188.

[92] Ibid., 184–185.

[93] Ibid., 180–182, 186–187.

[94] Ibid., 188–190.

[95] Josef Staber, "Die älteste Lebensbeschereibung des Fürsten Wenzeslaus und ihr Ursprungsort Regensburg," in *Das heidnische und christliche Slaventum: Acta II Congressus internationalis historiae Slavicae Salisburgo-Ratisponensis anno 1967 celebrati*, vol. 2, edited by Franz Zagiba, Annales Instituti Slavici 6.2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970), 183–193, at 185–188.

a better preserved version of *Crescente fide* than we now know.[96] However, currently at least two manuscripts of *Crescente fide* written in the early eleventh century are to be found in the Munich University Library.[97] Dušan Třeštík also mentions the so called Bohemian Version of *Crescente fide*, which is also known from twelfth-century manuscripts. Its author certainly interpolated the original text of *Crescente* with readings from *Legenda Christiani.*

Třeštík's attempt to identify three literary characters—Christian, the author of the legend; Christian, the brother of the prince Boleslav II (972–999) and Strachkvas of the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague—as one and the same person is also very probable.[98] As mentioned above, in the prologue, Christian addresses his Legend to St. Adalbert whom he calls his *nepos*, which means, in the wider sense of the word, his "kinsman".[99] In Bruno's legend about St. Adalbert, written soon after 1000, a man called Christian also remained as the head of the Bohemian legacy and brother of the prince sent to Rome for St. Adalbert.[100] Thirdly, in the *Chronica Boëmorum*, the brother of the prince Boleslav II (972–999), called Strachkvas, is also described as a proud monk who, led by false modesty, rejected St. Adalbert's offer to succed him in episcopacy.[101] Because St. Adalbert's family and the Přemyslids were probably relatives, the word *nepos* relating Christian with St. Adalbert does not exclude the possibility that he was a brother of Boleslav II (972–999) as well, as Dušan Třeštík argues.[102]

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[96] Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců* (Prague: Academia, 1981); Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 530–935.*

[97] The earliest manuscript CLM 4605 dates from the eleventh century, at the latest, see Günter Glauche, *Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuren: CLM 4501–4663*, Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Nova Series 3.1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 181–182.

[98] Dušan Třeštík, "Přemyslovec Kristián," K poctě Jiřího Slámy. *AR* 51 (1999): 602–613.

[99] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 10: "Nunc vos deprecor, pontifex inclite et nepos carissime, ut qui me immeritum hoc opus subire fecistis, precibus aput communem patronum iuvetis, ut qui vos meritis suis ad pontificale decus conscendere statuit, dum vobis in futuro aput Christum dominum coronam glorie pro reportato lucro de creditis ovibus acquisierit, nobis saltem veniam criminum impetrare dignetur".

[100] *Sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris Vita altera auctore Brunone Querfurtensi*, edited by Jadwiga Karwasińska, MPH N.S. 4.2 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969), chap. 15, 17: "Postea populus terre episcopum suum revocat, sancti viri papatem, Radlam sapientem, et qui frater carnis domno terre fuit, Christianum monachum, virum eloquentem, in hoc opus eligit.; Sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris Vita prior", edited by Jadwiga Karwasińska, MPH N.S. 4.1 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962), chap. 18, 27: "...nunciorum primas vix promeruit victoriam. Hic ipse primas frater erat ducis, cuius terre, qui exigebatur, episcopus prefuit".

[101] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.17–18, 29–30, pp. 36–37, 52–55.

[102] Dušan Třeštík, "Přemyslovec Kristián," 606–607.

We have to agree with Dušan Třeštík that it is not very probable that at the end of tenth century there were two churchmen of Bohemian origin called "Christian", one author of the legend and the other one, brother of the prince. The name "Strachkvas", used by Cosmas only strengthens the negative characteristic of this man, who, according to Cosmas, was supposedly born on the day of St. Wenceslas' murder. Certainly the evidence for the existence of an important Bohemanian churchman called Christian also strengthens the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani.*

Given 200 years of lasting discussion, I do not believe that the arguments mentioned by earlier generations of researchers, as well as my own, are necessarily convincing to all other historians. But I also think that accepting the authenticity of *Legenda Christiani* opens us the way for understanding the widespread extent of St. Wenceslas cult and its importance in early Přemyslid realm.

3. *Christian and Great Moravia*

Conducting a search for the Great Moravian sources utilized by Christian is not an easy task. Earlier inquiries have largely turned to the *Сказание о преложении книг на славянский язык.*[103] However, this is not the only early medieval record of the Great Moravian tradition surviving in Slavonic Europe potentially associated with Christian's work. First of all, it is essential to establish a reinforcing link between the texts and, based on the results of these analyses, subsequently provide a characterization of the intellectual background relevant to their origin.

Let us briefly summarize the contents of the first few chapters of the legend: the ancient kingdom of Moravia received baptism in the days of St. Augustine while the Bulgarians had been so honoured even earlier. Once the Bulgarians were baptized, Cyril—the Greek scholar educated in both Greek and Latin letters—set out on a mission to Moravia. Acting on divine inspiration, he invented a new script and subsequently translated the Holy Scriptures. In addition, he also designated Mass and the Liturgy of the Hours to be sung in the vernacular, as is still the custom in Slavonic countries, namely in Bulgaria. However, once Cyril reached

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[103] E.g. Dušan Třeštík considers the common source of Christian and *Сказание*—see Dušan Třeštík, "Bořivoj a Svatopluk: Vznik českého státu a Velká Morava," in *Velká Morava a počátky československé státnosti,* edited by Josef Poulík and Bohuslav Chropovský (Prague and Bratislava: Academia and Obzor, 1985), 277.

Rome again, he was assailed by the Holy Father and other men of learning for breaking church decrees by instituting the Slavonic vernacular as the language of worship. It was then that Cyril took his Book of Psalms and by his words, alluding to the "hard heads" of the Slavs, whom verily he would not have converted using Latin or Greek, succeeded in convincing them. By virtue of their authority, the holy men subsequently affirmed that in such lands Mass and the Liturgy of the Hours shall thenceforth be held in the Slavonic vernacular. While Cyril remained in Rome, donning a monk's cowl, he left his brother Methodius—likewise sanctified by sainthood—in charge of his work. Methodius was later, on baptizing a multitude of people, by the ruler of that country appointed archbishop with a further seven bishops of the same sainthood at his service. But, as the devil never ceases his angry work, it so happened that Methodius' benefactor, the ruler of that country, was overthrown by his very own nephew and blinded after miraculously surviving a poisoning attempt. However, the nephew—Svatopluk—finding the holy bishop contemptible, did not heed his warning and—allowing his people to serve the devil—was consequently cursed by Methodius and with him the entire country. With the curse came a scourge which may still serve even us, the living, as a warning sign.[104] At a time when Great Moravian Christianity flourished, there lived in Bohemia Prince Bořivoj, a prince of the old Přemyslid dynasty which had ruled the Bohemians since time immemorial and had instituted law and order in the land.[105] However, when once visiting Moravia, he was accepted with less than the expected dignity. His concerns were finally dispelled by the bishop Methodius, who described the benefits of baptism, telling the prince that he was to become "master of [his] masters and all [his] enemies shall be subject to [his] power and [his] offspring will swell like a river".[106] Bořivoj thus decided to receive

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[104] See *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 12–16. Most recently on this issue, see Борис Н. Флоря, "Кирилло–мефодиевские традиции в 'Легенде Кристиана'," Στέφανος: Studia Byzantina ac Slavica Vladimiro Vavřínek ad annum sexagesimum quintum dedicata, *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995): 571–577.

[105] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 2, 16–18. Recently, see Třeštík, *Mýty kmene Čechů,* 99–167, esp. 164–167. On this work, which aroused controversy, see the debate in *Dějiny—Teorie—Kritika* 2, no. 1 (2004); and also the review by Robert Antonín in *ČMM* 123 (2004), 197–202. Cf. at least Czesław Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski: Studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego* (Lublin: Inst. Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2000), 216–219.

[106] Ibid., chap. 2, 18: "...dominus dominorum tuorum efficieris, cunctique hostes tui subicientur dicioni tue velut fluvius maximus..." (If not stated otherwise, the translation

baptism; he then returned to Bohemia with a priest and ordered a church built in Levý Hradec. However, the Bohemians lived in fear of the "new and unprecedented Christian sacrament"[107] and Bořivoj was subsequently exiled. He was only redeemed by a victory in the assembly: only then were the Bohemians finally brought under the "yoke of Christianity".[108]

The entire account is skillfully composed, but its hidden pitfalls will remain unexposed unless Christian's narrative is compared with other versions of the Great Moravian tradition. First of all, an attempt at identifying Christian's Great Moravian historical sources should be made. Before setting out on an examination of tenth and eleventh century documents, the so-called *Pannonian Legends* shall be scrutinized first.[109]

In the *Life of St. Constantin* (9th c., Moravia), the account of Great Moravian history begins with a letter sent by the Moravian prince Rastislav to Emperor Michael III. The emperor received the letter at his court and reacted by commissioning Constantine with missionary work among the Slavs.[110] As Constantine himself believed that the existence of a Slavonic script was essential in order to spread the Christian faith, he—"with the help of God"—succeeded in developing such a script[111] and even began translating the gospels into Slavonic.[112] He then left for Moravia along with his brother in order to educate the people, prepare a new clergy and

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in the Ludvíkovský's edition mentioned below is used.) The word *tuorum* already appeared in the archetype, see Bohumil Ryba, "Legenda Kristiánova s hlediska textové kritiky," *LF* 59 (1932): 240–241. On the role of the prophecy, see also Ludvíkovský, "Great Moravian Tradition in the 10th Century Bohemia and Legenda Christiani," in *Magna Moravia: Sborník k 1100. výročí příchodu byzantské mise na Moravu,* edited by Josef Macůrek. Spisy UJEP v Brně 102 (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1965), 548–553. The author also accepts the idea of the continuity, see also František Graus, "Velkomoravská říše v české středověké tradici," *ČsČH* 11 (1963): 289–305, at 300, n. 78.

[107] Ibid., chap. 2, 20: "...novam atque inauditam sanctitatis legem Christianorum..."

[108] Ibid., chap. 2, 22–24.

[109] See at least the inspirational work Vladimír Vavřínek, *Staroslověnské životy Konstantina a Metoděje.* Rozpravy ČSAV, řada společenskovědní 73, no. 7. Prague: Československá akademie věd, 1963

[110] *Žitije Konstantina,* edited by Radoslav Večerka, *MMFH* 2 (Brno: Universita J.E. Purkyně, 1967), 57–115, at 98–100. The explanations of various passages in these texts are often ambiguous. However, these ambiguities concern rather the history of Great Moravia and thus are irrelevant to the issues under discussion. On the life of both Byzantine missionaries, see the original study Richard Marsina, "Metod a Veľká Morava: K 1100. výročiu smrti Metoda, 6. 4. 885," *Slovenská archivistika* 20, no. 2 (1985): 11–33.

[111] *Žitije Konstantina,* chap. 14, 100.

[112] Ibid., chap. 14, 100.

implement and protect the strict provisions of canon law.[113] When he felt his work was finished, he decided to leave; however, the legend does not list any particular reasons. On the return journey he was received by Koceľ, who displayed a great fondness for his teachings and thus kept him at his court for some time.[114] The brothers eventually made their way to Venice, where Constantine led a fierce disputation with the proponents of limiting services to the three liturgical languages.[115] When the Pope learned about Constantine, he sent for him and—on learning that he had brought with him the relics of St. Clement—set out to meet him in person with the people of Rome at his heels.[116] He personally acknowledged the use of Slavonic books by placing them on the altar in the Basilica *Sanctae Mariae Majoris ad Nives* as well as by taking them from one significant Roman basilica to another and singing the Slavonic liturgy.[117] The disciples of both missionaries were likewise ordained and Methodius finally received the desired consecration.[118] Constantine later adopted the name Cyril and entered a monastery, dying shortly afterwards.[119]

The course of events is described somewhat differently in the later *Life of St. Methodius* (9th c., Moravia), even though the general framework corresponds to that of the *Life of St. Constantin.* Unlike the previously discussed work, the *Life of St. Methodius* unequivocally states that the brothers were invited to Rome by Pope Nicholas I,[120] who immediately welcomed them, blessing their books in the Basilica of St. Peter and ordaining their disciples as well as—again—Methodius himself.[121] According to this account, the Pope himself dismissed objections which were lodged against the Slavonic books, calling their opponents traitors and advocates of merely three liturgical languages and cursing them.[122] The narrative goes on to recount Methodius' life following his brother's death. As mentioned by the author, not only did the Pope hear out Koceľ's pleas for Methodius' return,[123] he actually authorized Methodius to present the Scripture in Slavonic as well as using the vernacular for Mass and other church

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[113] Ibid., chap. 15, 101–105.
[114] Ibid., chap. 15, 105.
[115] Ibid., chap. 16, 105–110.
[116] Ibid., chap. 17, 110.
[117] Ibid., chap. 17, 110–111.
[118] Ibid., chap. 17, 111.
[119] Ibid., chap. 18, 112–114.
[120] *Žitije Mefodija*, chap. 6, 146.
[121] Ibid., chap. 6, 146.
[122] Ibid., chap. 6, 146.
[123] Ibid., chap. 8, 147.

activities while retaining the primacy of Latin.[124] The author of the *Life of St. Methodius* also states that, on reaching the princely court, Methodius and twenty of his disciples were sent back to Rome to plead with the Pope in order to have Methodius appointed bishop of Pannonia on the see of St. Andronicus; like the previous requests, this last one was granted too.[125] He notes that, following a certain turn of events, the Moravians claimed him as archbishop and he subsequently received from Svatopluk's hands the administration of the entire Great Moravian church.[126] Before the tireless warrior against pagan anachronisms died, Methodius allegedly finished translating Scripture as well as other important books.[127] On foretelling the date of his own death, he passed away exactly as prophesied.[128]

Before we confront these sources with later documents, let us provide a general note regarding several matters. On comparing the two *Vitae*, it becomes clear that though they refer to the same events, they often fail to correspond to one another although they were composed in an identical creative environment and with similar intentions. Only the basic message of both works may be said to have been left intact, i.e. the defence of Constantine and Methodius' missionary work. The texts differ in terms of placing each of the brothers in a different historical context as well as in terms of argumentation: while Constantine's scholarship plays an important role in the *Life of St. Constantin*, the most significant factor in defending Slavonic liturgy listed by its counterpart seems to be papal benevolence. The objectives of both texts do not correspond completely, a number of facts currently perceived as important may not have occurred to the original writers—the banal and thus in all probability unmotivated difference in the name of the Pope first welcoming the brothers in Rome may serve as a case in point. It is also possible that even the short period of time separating the emergence of the two legends could have brought about significant changes in church as well as political matters, resulting in the need for a different argumentation scheme. Whether the changes occurred due to a measure of indifference on the part of the author with respect to certain kinds of information or whether they are indeed the result of a particular authorial design is naturally subject to further analysis. The findings established on the basis of a superficial comparison of the

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[124] Ibid., chap. 8, 149.
[125] Ibid., chap. 8, 150.
[126] Ibid., chap. 10, 154.
[127] Ibid., chap. 15, 159–160.
[128] Ibid., chap. 17, 161–162.

Lifes call for adjustments to the methods used for comparisons among the three more recent texts. It is necessary to take into consideration that—unlike contemporaries working on the Pannonian *Vitae*—the scope of later authors was largely limited to these very texts, unless of course they were inclined to embark on a complex exploration of other sources. (This fact greatly facilitates our attempts at reconstructing the interrelationships between individual documents: common mistakes comprise the best possible clues in such situations.) Let us examine later accounts, focusing both on the potential influence of the older sources as well as on the reasons leading individual authors to implement a particular style in their own works.

The so-called *Skazanije o preloženii knig na slavjanskoj jazyk*,[129] the incomplete text of which is found in the *Nestor's Chronicle*, shall serve as the first comparative text. The account was only distinguished from the surrounding text at the beginning of the twentieth century by Aleksey Aleksandrovich Shakhmatov (1864–1920), an important text critic and editor, when searching for the origins of the model text in the Sázava of the first half of the eleventh century.[130] The most recent scholars to bring any considerable initiative to the issue were Alexander Avenarius, who only concentrated on the part of the assumed Sazavian original deemed closely associated with the Great Moravian mission,[131] and Boris N. Florja, who—though never directly concerned with the extent of the *Skazanije* itself—completely rejected any potential links between it and the *Legenda Christiani*.[132]

However, the situation is further complicated by several factors. First of all, the manuscripts: *Nestor's Chronicle*, i.e. the *Tale of Bygone Years*, has only survived in two, rather late manuscripts: the late fourteenth century *Laurentian codex* and the fifteenth century *Hypatian codex*.[133] It is also true that the *Skazanije*, found at the core of our interest, is only known in Nestor's version; it is thus not completely clear to what extent

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[129] *Повесть временных лем*, ed. by Д.С. Лихачев, 15–16.

[130] А.А. Шахматов, "Сказание о преложении книг на славянский язык," in: Zbornik u slavu V. Jagiće (Berlin: Weidmann, 1908), 172–188 (I did not have the study at my disposal). See also Г. Илйнский, "Где, когда и с какою делю глаголица била заменана 'кирилицей'?" *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (1931): 79–88.

[131] Alexander Avenarius, "Byzantská a západoslovanská složka v Povesti vremennych let," *Slovanské štúdie* 14 (1973): 165–186.

[132] Борис Н Флоря, "Сказание о преложении книг на славянский язык: Истощники, время и место написания," *Byzantinoslavica* 46 (1985): 121–130.

[133] Cf. especially the introduction to D. Ostrowski's edition at http://hudce7.harvard .edu/~ostrowski/pvl/intro8.pdf, updated in 2003.

it actually corresponds to the assumed tenth or early eleventh century text. Moreover, the extent of the text itself prevents us from carrying out a philological analysis in order to unequivocally separate the original text from any modifications made later on by Nestor or indeed discern potential textual connections between the *Skazanije* and the *Legenda Christiani*. As there is no use reconstructing the original *Skazanije*, we shall resort to comparing the *Legenda Christiani* to the text found in *Nestor's Chronicle*. This procedure is seen as legitimate in view of the fact that, far from working towards establishing an unambiguous stemma of the Cyrillic and Methodic tradition, our objectives instead centre on identifying potential contacts between the Czech, Russian and Belorussian environments as well as attempting to comprehend the Great Moravian tradition as manifested in these same milieus.

The most important source utilized by the anonymous author is undoubtedly the *Life of St. Methodius*—the author of the *Skazanije* actually reused entire excerpts of the work. The description of the process of translating Scripture is perhaps most striking: the rendering is almost verbatim.[134] A further passage, describing the cursing of the proponents of the three liturgical languages,[135] likewise corresponds to the diction used throughout the *Vita Methodi*. As the borrowed passages appear neither in the *Legenda Christiani* nor the *Bios Klimentós*, they must have been adopted and used directly in the *Skazanije*.

In many ways, the *Skazanije* also corresponds to information provided by Christian. A "Bulgarian" motif is discernible in both the Russian source text and the *Legenda Christiani*: the *Skazanije* also has Cyril leave for Bulgaria as well as noting—again in agreement with Christian—that the "Slavonic books" were indeed confirmed in Rome.[136] However, contrary to Christian's claim, according to the author of the *Skazanije*, it was the Pope himself who stood up in defence of the "Slavonic books".[137] The *Skazanije* likewise alleges that Methodius was the successor of St. Andronicus— and thus the successor of Paul the Apostle—and that the translation of

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[134] Cf. *Повесть временных лем*, 16: "*Мефодий же посади 2 попа скорописца зѣло, и преложи вся книги испонь от гречьска языка въ словѣнскъ 6-ю мѣсяць, наченъ от марта мѣсяца до двудесяту и 6-ю день октября мѣсяца*", and *Žitije Mefodija*, chap. 15, 159–160: "*...прѣже же от оученикъ своихъ лосажь дъва попы скорописця зѣло, прѣложи въ брьзѣ вься книги испълнь, развѣ макавѣи, от гръчьска нъзыка въ словѣнскъ, шестию мѣс(я)ць, начьнь от марфа м(ѣ)с(я)ца, до двоюдесятоу и шестию д(ь)нь октября м(ѣ) с(я)са.*"

[135] See e.g. *Повесть временных лем*, 16, and also *Žitije Mefodija*, chap. 8, 150.

[136] *Повесть временных лем*, 16.

[137] Ibid., 15–16.

Scripture was his work.[138] Finally, the *Skazanije* has Constantine leave for Bulgaria,[139] while Christian's Constantine dies in a monastery.[140] The "Bulgarian motif" is thus present in both texts, but is assigned a different role in each of them. Moreover, it is reasonable to cast a fair amount of doubt on the possible reconstructing of an interconnection between the two texts, especially due to significant differences in narrative structure.

Let us now explore the original Bulgarian tradition.[141] The currently known, Bulgarian version of the story of Cyril and Methodius appears in a legend entitled *Life of St. Clement, Βίος Κλήμεντος*, composed by Theophylact, archbishop of Ohrid (1055–1107), at the close of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.[142] Unfortunately, the account is only documented in a total of nine later manuscripts. The oldest complete text dates to the fourteenth century, the oldest fragment is to be found in a manuscript dating to the mid-thirteenth century.[143] Although the work is of a relatively late date, research has shown that the first six chapters—addressed here in greater detail—are based on a Bulgarian compilation combining the *Vitae* with some kind of domestic tradition.[144] Chapters VII to XIII were allegedly composed by Theophylact based on the papal letters of Stephen V; the archbishop of Ohrid reputedly based the remaining

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[138] Ibid., 16.

[139] Ibid., 16.

[140] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 14.

[141] *Βίος Κλήμεντος*, edited by Dagmar Bartoňková, *MMFH* 2 (Brno: Universita J.E. Purkyně, 1967), 200–234. See also Thomas Hirsch, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis böhmische Geschichtsquellen. 1: Die Ludmilla und Wenzelslegenden, oder wer ist der Verfasser der von Dobrowsky mit Unrecht einem Pseudochristian zugeschriebenen Legenden," in Josef Pekař, *Eine unbekannt gebliebene Abhandlung über die Echtheit Christians, Sitzungsberichte der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Klasse für Philos., Gesch. u. Philol. 1905, no. 2. (Prague: Verlag der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1905), 12–21.

[142] For Obolensky's earlier arguments in favour of Theophylact's authorship—unity of the style of the *Βίος Κλήμεντος* and other Theophylact's works, chronological horizon of the work and its extant manusripts—, see Ilia G. Iliev, "The Manuscript Tradition and the Authorship of the Long Life of St. Clement of Ohrid," *Byzantinoslavica* 52 (1992): 68–74. Iliev also shows that the mention of Theophylact's authorship was already in the archetype. He regards this fact as crucial. Cf. Dmitri Obolensky, "Theophylact of Ohrid," in Dmitri Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 34–82. This study inspirationally summarizes Theophylact's life as well as hi literary works.

[143] Iliev, "The Manuscript Tradition," 69, 69–70.

[144] For the proofs, see Stojan Maslev, "Zur Quellenfrage der Vita Clementis," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 70 (1977): 310–315. The author claims that the Greek work was directly based on a Bulgarian compilation proceeding from the Pannonian *Vitae*. He considers its existence especially on the basis of the Bulgarisms—e.g. the Germans are called *Νεμιτζοι*—and ardent patriotism.

sections on the lost Old Church Slavonic *Life of St. Clement*, a text dating to before the emergence of *Life of Naum* shortly after 916.[145]

Although a number of contact points between Christian and the *Life of St. Clement* may be established, the extent of the text precludes any attempts at establishing specific relationships between the two accounts. The *Life of St. Clement* completely disregards e.g. Constantine's polemic with the opponents of Slavonic liturgy and script taking place in Rome; the fortunes of Methodius are likewise handled differently in each text. The only common elements shared by both narratives are thus limited to Christian's notes relating the early baptism of the Bulgarians and the description of the situation in Bulgaria, which—albeit in slightly different form—likewise appears in *Diffundente sole* and *Beatus Cyrillus*, two high medieval legends of Bohemian origin.

Our research shows that Christian was aware of an unspecified tradition of Bulgarian origin.[146] Although his attitude was very restrained,[147] he was not able to ignore it altogether. Nevertheless, the legend includes only a very deformed account: Christian does not even mention Constantine's alleged departure for Bulgaria. On the contrary, his Constantine dies in a Roman monastery. His main source appears to be the *Life of St. Constantin*: two quotes from the Scripture[148] as well as several motifs seen neither

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[145] See e.g. the introduction to *Βίος Κλήμεντος*, 200–201, or the introduction to *Osudy Cyrila a Metoda a ich učenikov v Živote Klimentovom*, translated by Ján Stanislav (Bratislava: Tatran, 1950), 29–47. More recently, see Obolensky, "Theophylact of Ohrid," 63–64. The author does not specify these sources, he generally refers to the textualised tradition. Most recently, see Б.Н. Флоря, С.А. Иванов, and А.А. Турилов, *Судьбы Кирилло-Мефодиевской традиции после Кирилла и Мефодия* (Санкт Петервург: Алетейя, 2000), 47–53. Besides the Pannonian *Vitae*, the author also considers the existence of an unknown Old Slavonic model.

[146] This seems to follow from Cosmas's version of John XIII's letter, see *Cosmae Chronica* 1.22, 43–44; see also Dušan Třeštík, "K založení pražského biskupství," 179–196. A number of sources prove that the West was familiar with the Christianisation of the Bulgarians, see e.g. *Annales Fuldenenses*, 65.

[147] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 12: "Bulgri vel Bulgarii attamen longe ante eadem potiti referuntur gracia."

[148] Ibid., 12: *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum...*—Ps. 150, 6; cf. *Žitije Konstantina*, chap. 16, 106; *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 14: *Loqui linguis nolite prohibere...*—1 Corinthians 14, 39; cf. *Žitije Konstantina*, chap. 16, 109; these passages do not appear in the Papal letters—see *CDSl*, vol. 1. The relationship between *Legenda Christiani* and *Žitije Konstantina* were first identified in Miloš Weingart, *První česko-církevněslovanská legenda o svatém Václavu: Rozbor filologický* (Prague: Miloš Weingart, 1934), 155–159; cf. Roman Jakobson, "Menší prameny k rané historii slovanské církve," in Roman Jakobson, *Cyrilometodějské studie*, edited by Bohuslav Havránek, Luboš Řeháček, and Jaroslav Porák (Prague: Euroslavica, 1970/1995), 33–45. On the grounds of the same finding, the author concludes that the *Повесть* and Christian proceeded from an earlier source dependent on both *Vitae*, probably the

in the *Life of St. Clement* nor in the Russian sources—e.g. Constantine's defence of the Slavonic script and liturgy[149]—have been taken directly from this text. It is likely that Christian utilizes the *Life of St. Methodius* as well, borrowing an account of Methodius' life following his brother's death, albeit in a shortened and modified version.[150] A description of the fall of Great Moravia as well as any references to Bořivoj's baptism must, however, have come from elsewhere. Christian could have easily learned about the fall of Moravia from the chronicle of Reginon of Prüm or perhaps from the text which had provided him with the somewhat enigmatic "Bulgarian tradition".[151] For that matter, the fall of Moravia and its bishops—incurred by the arrogance of Svatopluk's successors—is likewise mentioned by his contemporary, Thietmar.[152] The story of Bořivoj was in all likelihood drawn from domestic tradition as portrayed in the *Fuit*

Privilegium moraviensis ecclesiae mentioned by Cosmas. From more recent works, see Radoslav Večerka, "Velkomoravská literatura v přemyslovských Čechách," *Slavia* 32 (1963): 398–416; Oldřich Králík, *Slavníkovské interludium: K česko-polským kulturním vztahům kolem r. 1000* (Ostrava: Profil, 1966), 148. For the idea that Christian used both quotations independently, see Флоря, "Кирилло–мефодиевские традиции," 576. Generally on the awareness of the existence of the *Vitae* in tenth-century Bohemia, see Václav Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda a její 'Sitz im Leben'," *SMP* 1 (1988, published in 1990): 113–127.

[149] *Žitije Konstantina*, chap. 16, 105–110; *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 12–14.

[150] The passage in *Žitije Mefodija*, chap. 10, 154, which mentions that Svatopluk handed over the Great Moravian Curch organisation to Methodius, might have inspired Christian in his assertion that "... ab ipso principe, qui partibus in illis tunc dominabatur et imperabat universe terre ceu magnificus imperator, statuitur summus pontifex, habens sub se septem eiusdem sanctitatis pontifices...", see *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 14. And this might also have been the case regarding the profit which the land (or dynasty) had gained from Christianisation.

[151] *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon*, edited by Friedrich Kurze, *MGH* SRG 50 (Hannover: Hahn, 1890), 143: "... cuius /Svatopluk's/ regnum filii eius pauco post infeliciter temerunt, Ungris omnia usque ad solum depopulantibus."; See also ibid., 134. An exemplar of Regino's chronicle might have appeared in Prague, since Adalbert, who was Archbishop of Magdeburg at the times of St Adalbert's studies in Magdeburg, continued in Regino's work. This idea is supported not only by the fact that St Adalbert brought books from his studies in Magdeburg, but also by Cosmas's chronicle which used Regino as a model and source of literary motifs, see František Vacek, "Legenda Kristiánova," Hlídka 20 (1903), 598–599. On this issue, see also Dušan Třeštík, "Kosmas a Regino: Ke kritice Kosmovy kroniky," ČsČH 8 (1960): 564–587.

[152] *Thietmari Chronicon*, 392: "Boemii regnante Zuetopulco quondam fuerant principes nostri. Hinc a nostris parentibus quotannis solvitur census, et episcopos in sua regione Marierum dicta habuit; quod omnis et successores sui superbia tumidi perdiderunt, quia omnis humiliter euangelio teste crescit et arrogantiae sublimitas minoratur. Sine maximo timore in hiis nullus dominatur provinciis. Caritas pura gemit exclusa, quia regnante ibidem periurium cum fraude socia."; The "Bulgarian tradition" may be taken into consideration as well, see e.g. *I. žitije Nauma*, edited by Radoslav Večerka, *MMFH* 2 (Brno: Universita J.E. Purkyně, 1967), 178–179. On the possible use of the Annales Fuldenses, see Hirsch, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis böhmische Geschichtsquellen," 12–21; on the criticism of this idea, see Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 179.

in provincia Bohemorum.[153] However, Christian was probably the first to combine the various accounts into a coherent whole.

Comparisons between the Pannonian *Lives*, the *Legenda Christiani*, the *Skazanije* and the *Life of St. Clement* have established that the insufficient extent of passages mentioning the baptism of the Great Moravian population and the beginnings of the local church organisation only facilitate the identification of an unequivocal textual link between the *Life of St. Methodius* and the *Skazanije*.[154] It is very likely that Christian had drawn on the *Life of St. Constantin* and possibly on the *Life of St. Methodius* as well. There are also grounds for presupposing his knowledge of an unknown Bulgarian tradition in the Russian and Czech context. Any textual interconnections between the *Skazanije* and the *Legenda Christiani* or their relationship to the unknown model text of the *Life of St. Clement* are, however, impossible to prove. The assertion that Cyril left Rome for Bulgaria comprises the sole—and rather weak—piece of evidence potentially establishing that the "Bulgarian tradition" might have been known to the author of the *Skazanije*.[155]

More importantly, pronounced differences in the treatment of various details in dependent texts show that it was not historical accuracy but rather the various reasons for composing their accounts in the first place which most influenced the authors of the works discussed here.[156] Apart from the problematic passages discussed below, the depiction of the following may serve as an example: while both the *Life of St. Clement* and the *Skazanije* refer to Methodius as the successor of St. Andronicus, Christian makes no mention of this whatsoever. Cyril and Methodius' connection to Bulgaria is likewise treated differently by each author: Christian's testimony is unclear at best while the *Skazanije* files Cyril's Bulgarian mission following his visit to Rome and the *Life of St. Clement* essentially begins with the event.

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[153] *Fuit in provincia Boemorum*, ed. V. Chaloupecký, 469.

[154] This connection is probably most apparent in the account in the *Сказания* of the finishing of the translation of the Scripture with the help of two priests, which is repeated word by word in the *Žitije Mefodija*. See Avenarius, *Byzantská a západoslovanská složka*, 181–182, and also in this book, n. 888–889.

[155] *Повесть временных лем*, 16. See already Флоря, "Сказание о преложении книг," 129.

[156] On this issue, see also the comparison of the *Life of St. Constantin* and *Life of St. Methodius* above in the text. Generally on the relationship of the medieval authors to the sources, see Hans-Werner Goetz, "Das hochmittelalterliche Geschichtsschreiber und seine Quellen: Zur historiographischen Praxis im Spiegel von Geschichtsverständnis und Geschichtsbewußtsein," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 32, no. 2 (1997): 1–18. I thank Dr Anna Smékalová for the information regarding this study.
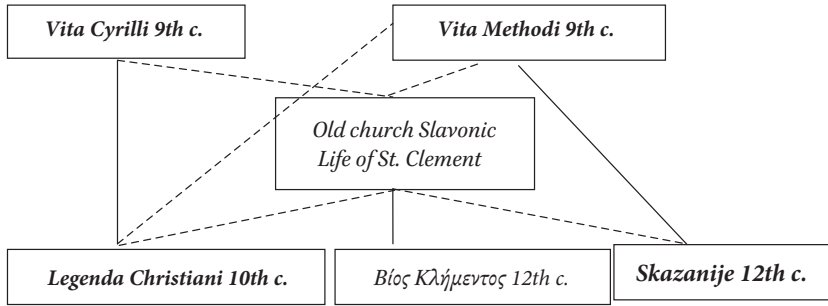
Figure 1. Presumed connections between texts associated with the Great Moravian tradition. Existing texts in bold.

As the search for connections between the Pannonian legends, *Skazanije*, *Legenda Christiani*, and Theophylact's *Life of St. Clement* failed to provide conclusive results, let us turn our attention to identifying the individual designs pursued by the authors of the more recent texts.

The tendencies in the *Life of St. Clement* are rather pronounced indeed: on describing the circumstances surrounding the creation of the Slavonic script, Theophylact asserts that the Glagolitic alphabet was intended for the "nation of Slavs, or Bulgarians".[157] With respect to what is stated in the introduction, it would have been impossible to even explain why the brothers arrived in Moravia in the first place. The author thus resorted to a *pons asinorum* of sorts: on one hand he let Cyril and Methodius leave for Rome in order to have their teaching approved while, on the other hand, he had Methodius "appointed" bishop of Pannonian Moravia following Cyril's death with the provision that he, Methodius, would become teacher not only to Rastislav and Koceľ but also to prince Boris of Bulgaria.[158] Sometime during that period, the Bulgarians—the original intended recipients of the Slavonic script (!)—"started becoming worthy of God's baptism and had begun to turn to the Christian faith. It was then that these saints, Cyril (!) and Methodius, seeing the great numbers of believers as well as the fact that they, being born of water and the Spirit but lacking any spiritual nurture, discovered, as has already been mentioned, a script, as well as procuring a translation of Scripture into Bulgarian..."[159] A defence of

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[157] *Βίος Κλήμεντος* 2.5, 204. Cf. Obolensky, "Theophylact of Ohrid," 60–77.
[158] *Βίος Κλήμεντος* 3.9, 206–207, 3.10, 207, 4.15, 211.
[159] Ibid., 4.16, 211: "του δε ίου τε χαταξιουσδαι βαπτίσματος χαί χριστιανίζειν ήρξατο ότε δή χαϊ οι άγιοι ούτοι, Κύριλλος, φημί, χαϊ Μεθόδιος, τό πλήθος τών πιστευόντων ίδόντες, χαϊ ώς πολλά μέν γεννώται Θεού τέχνα δι ύδατός τε χαϊ πνεύματος, χαϊ τροπής δέ πάντος πνευματιχής δέονται, γράμματά

the Bulgarian right to the heritage of Cyril and Methodius is apparent in subsequent chapters, e.g. in passages relating Methodius' destitute life in Great Moravia.[160] The story reaches a climax with Methodius' death, the consequent fall of everything previously upheld by virtue of his authority and the flight of his disciples from the ignorant barbarian Svatopluk who had succumbed to heretics.[161] Methodius' disciples were imprisoned and only after God appeared on their side and performed miracles nearly leading to the destruction of the capital city did soldiers escort them out of the country.[162] They subsequently found sanctuary in Bulgaria.[163] There is no need to further emphasize the objectives set out by the author of this text (possibly identical to an original dating to the first half of the tenth century). Among other things, it comprises a remarkable document of the great interest in Methodius' heritage as well as the efforts to defend and identify with Cyrillic and Methodic mission.[164] We can only agree with Dimitrii Obolensky, who traces three distinct objectives in the author's interest in the tradition: celebrating the workings of the *Logos* by means of preaching in Slavonic, demonstrating that Slavonic Christianity is not inferior on account of coming later, and—finally—that the creation of the new alphabet is a continuation of the Pentecostal miracle when the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles and they started speaking in tongues.[165]

The *Skazanije*, though closely following the diction of the *Life of St. Methodius*, emerged as much more than merely a mindless copy of the

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τε εξεύροντο χαθ ά προειρήχαμεν, χαϊ τήν τών γραφών επϊ τό Βουλγαριχόν μετάθεσιν έποιήσαντο, . . .”; The translation by Dagmar Bartoňková was used (ibid.).; I also thank Dr Anna Smékalová for her help.

[160] Ibid., 5.17–6.23, 212–218.

[161] Ibid., 7.24–11.41, 218–226.

[162] Ibid., 11.34–12.36, 227–228, 12.36–12.39, 228–230, 13.40–41, 230–231.

[163] Ibid., 16.47, 233.

[164] This tendency is apparent enough e.g. ibid., 14.42, 232. It should be mentioned that Tsar Kaloyan in his letter to Innocent III refers to the Papal approval of the dignity of Tsar Peter, sometimes in the 920s, most probably at the beginning of 927, which is the time when the model of the *Life of St. Constantin* was probably written, see Zimmermann, *Regesta Imperii*, vol. 2.5, 25, no. 81: “. . . invenimus scripturis, quod beatae memorie illi imperatores Bulgarorum et Blachorum Symeon, Petrus et Samuel et nostri praedecessorescoronam pro imperio eorum et patriarchalem benedictionem acceperunt a sanctissima Romana ecclesia et ab apostolica sede, principe apostolorum Petro”. The contents of the letter, however, is questionable and should be examined again. It would also be worthwhile to ascertain, by means of comparative analyses, if and to what extent efforts were made to “appropriate” the saints through the written texts. On a more direct method, that is, the thefts of the relics, see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

[165] Obolensky, “Theophylact of Ohrid,” 68–70.

model text.[166] For example, its author formulates a thesis stating that
although the Slavonic script originated in Moravia, it was essentially
intended for all Slavs. He likewise asserts that since Russians are also to
be counted among the Slavonic population, they are thus to be considered
the inheritors of Cyril and Methodius and thus heirs to the heritage of St.
Andronicus and even of St. Paul.[167] As in all previously discussed works,
the climax of the account is far from unexpected with the course of events
foreshadowed in the introduction; the author has the emperor utter the
following: "oh, the Slavonic land has sent to me, begging a teacher".[168]
Although the anonymous Russian author borrowed the passage from the
Life of St. Methodius, it plays a different part in each narrative: although
the *Сказании* uses it in a bid to legitimize the heritage of Cyril and Metho-
dius in Russia/Kievan Rus, its function in the *Life of St. Methodius* is that of
underscoring the significance of the actual mission—this is most appar-
ent in chapter eight of the Pope's reply to Koceľ regarding Methodius:
"Not to you only, but to all Slavonic countries I am sending him (as) a
teacher from God and St. Peter the Apostle, the first herald and warden
of the kingdom of heaven".[169]

   It now remains to identify Christian's authorial design. The fact that he
was in favour of both Slavonic liturgy and script is clarified by reading a
speech he has Cyril present in Rome.[170] Christian has him support an argu-
ment with two biblical quotes used previously by the author of the *Life
of St. Constantin*.[171] A successful defence is followed by—probably not a
coincidence—Constantine's death in Rome.[172] As for Methodius, Chris-
tian has him leave for Moravia, writing—in agreement with the *Life of
St. Methodius*—about his appointment as archbishop by an unnamed local

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[166] See В.М. Истрин, "Моравская История Славян и История Поляно-Руси, как
предполагаемые источники начальной русской летописи," *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (1931):
322–327.
[167] *Повесть временных лем*, 16.
[168] Ibid., 15. Karel J. Erben's translation is used.
[169] *Žitije Mefodija*, chap. 8, 147: "*Нє тєбѣ јединомоу тъкъмо, нъ и всѣмъ странамъ тѣмъ
слвѣньскымъ сълю и оучитєль от б(ог)а и от с(вя)таго апостола Петра, пьрваго
настолника и ключєдьржьця ц(ѣса)р(ь)ствшо н(є)б(є)скомоу.*"; Večerka's translation is
used. On the alleged origin of this source in the Sázava Monastery after 1080, see Флоря,
"Сказание о преложении книг," 127–128. However, on the basis of the aforementioned
facts, this thesis should probably be reconsidered. The author does not mention any argu-
ments in favour of his opinion.
[170] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 12–14.
[171] Cf. n. 902.
[172] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 14.

ruler, while also mentioning a further seven subordinated bishops.[173] However, he mentions neither his connections to the see of Pannonia nor his role as the successor of St. Andronicus. We may speculate that as Christian was under pressure to formulate his text with respect to the potential claims of neighbouring rulers seeking access to the heritage of Cyril and Methodius, he thus opted for associating Methodius with Moravia actually ruled by Přemyslids rather than with Sirmium and Pannonia. This could explain why the apostolic argumentation of the *Life of St. Methodius* was left untouched.[174]

The key moment in Christian's narrative comprises a mention of the events taking place following a number of peaceful years: the ruler who had previously appointed Methodius was suddenly overthrown by his wicked relative Svatopluk,[175] who—not heeding the authority of his metropolitan—allowed "the light to consort with the darkness".[176] A curse was placed on Great Moravia and its people; its downfall began.[177] However, as indirectly added by Christian, the Bohemian prince Bořivoj was also present. He had been previously baptized at Svatopluk's court by Methodius himself with the archbishop foretelling that he was soon to become "master of [his] masters".[178] It is evident that Christian's endeavours did not end with his attempts at justifying Bohemian claims to Moravia.[179] He did,

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[173] Ibid., chap. 1, 14. This information does not refer to the real number of Methodius's suffragan Bishops, its function is rather symbolic. One might consider that this was a reaction to the so-called Pilgrim's Forgeries, which also mention the "Roman and Gepid" origins of the Pannonian Christianity. On this link, see already Josef Dobrovský, *Cyril a Metod, apoštolové slovanští*, Spisy a projevy Josefa Dobrovského 12, edited by Josef Vajs (Prague: Melantrich, 1948), 80–81. On the seven Bishops, see also *Annales Hildesheimenses*, 28.

[174] See David Kalhous, "The Significance of Sirmian and apostolic Tradition in Shaping Moravian Episcopal Organisation," *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009): 268–285.

[175] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 14–16.

[176] Ibid., chap. 1, 16: "...non est societas luci ad tenebras..."

[177] Ibid., chap. 1, 16. Indeed, the account might be a literary stylisation. Earlier works take it for granted that Christian was familiar with and employed Stephen V's letter, which mentions that Methodius really placed the Moravians under an interdict. See e.g. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský's comment on the edition of the *Legenda Christiani* at 139.

[178] Ibid., chap. 2, 18. Christian, as it seems, might have used in Methodius' speech words of the unknown author of the *Žitije Mefodija* on Great Moravia at the time following Methodius' appointment as Archbishop, see *Žitije Mefodija*, chap. 10, 154: "*От того же д(ь)не вельми начатъ расти оученије Б(о)жије и стрижьници множицѧ въвъсѣхъ градахъ и погнии вѣровати въ истиньньи б(ог)ъ, своихъ блѧдии отмѣтающесѧ; тольми наче и моравска област пространити начатъ всѧ страны и врагы своѧ побѣжати и съ непогрѣшеніемь, ...*"

[179] On this possibility, see especially Herman Kølln, *Die Wenzelslegende des Mönchs Christian,* Historisk-filosofske Meddilser 73 (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1996), who connects the genesis of the *Legenda Christiani* with the time when Moravia was ruled by Polish prince Boleslav I the Brave (992–1025). For the development of the theory of the

for that matter, describe the downfall of Moravia as caused by its ruler, who had allowed Christianity to coexist with paganism. This amounted to renouncing the advantages offered by the mighty—at least in Christian's view—church organisation; needless to say, this must have been the very yearned-for inheritance itself.

However, the first two chapters are more than a mere promise, they are a hidden warning. It is hardly by coincidence that the author appends the following to his depiction of the downfall of Great Moravia: "And these examples may perhaps bear some relevance to ourselves, attempting to follow in the same footsteps, as he who has seen his neighbour's house consumed by fire must worry about his own".[180] This seemingly trivial statement, essentially a warning against tolerating pagan anachronisms, links Christian to his bishop St. Adalbert and, moreover, places his work in line with the medieval literary traditions, traditions which were not necessarily meant to be primarily concerned with defending "political objectives"—in modern-day terms—but which were instead meant to comprise a parable, a narrative, a moral. In plain and simple terms: Christian's work transformed him into a political thinker. However, he also remained a monk and moralist.[181]

4. *Old Church Slavonic Literature and Liturgy in the Tenth and Eleventh Century Přemyslid Realm*

Analysis of the first two chapters of *Legenda Christiani* has clearly demonstrated Christian's interest in the vernacular liturgy.[182] Did his defence of this phenomen reflect its importance in the life of early medieval Bohemian society? Or was it only part of his strategy to strengthen the links between Cyril and Methodius and tenth-century Bohemia?

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translation, see Marie Bláhová, " '…kako jest koruna z Moravy vyšla…': 'Translatio regni' ve Staročeské kronice tzv. Dalimila," *MHB*3 (1993): 165–176; briefly on the later Velehrad tradition, see Dušan Třeštík, "Vynalezení tradice aneb Velehrad," in Dušan Třeštík, *Mysliti dějiny* (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 1997), 153–157.

[180] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 16: "Quorum exempla nos quoque videntur respicere, qui eisdem passibus conamur incedere, quoniam qui domum vicini sui conspicit concremari, suspectus debet esse de sua".

[181] On this issue on the example of Ottonian and Salian historiography, see Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade*, and Sutherland, *Liudprand of Cremona*.

[182] For the phenomen of literature in vernacular languages in the Early Middle ages see Michael Richter, "Die Sprachenpolitik Karls des Grosen," *Sprachwissenschaft* 7 (1982): 412–437; Dieter Guenich, "Die volkssprachige Überlieferung der Karolingerzeit aus der Sicht des Historikers," *DA* 39 (1983): 104–130.

Questions concerning the problems of the existence of Old Church Slavonic literature and liturgy in tenth-century Bohemia are among the more controversial in Bohemian historiography on the Early Middle Ages, and have existed without definite answers for many years. Such questions are, however, not only important in themselves, but they are part of a wider dispute regarding the orientation of "Bohemian" culture in the first centuries of Přemyslid rule in Bohemia. These will not be discussed here as it is my belief that they are all too closely connected to present-day notions of an East—West dichotomy and barely relevant to an Early Medieval world. Let us therefore bring to attention problems of a more rudimentary nature, i.e. the question of several Old Church Slavonic documents, which are generally considered to be of a tenth-century, Bohemian origin, in an attempt to solve the question of continuity—or discontinuity—in Old Church Slavonic literature from Great Moravian times. Therefore, texts which previous generations of researchers linked to Bohemia, but only to the eleventh century, shall not be examined in much detail here.

Instead, much attention shall be devoted to analyzing the relationship between "Old Church Slavonic" liturgy and literature as well as finally clarifying the significance of the phenomenon of special liturgy in the Early Middle Ages.

Due to the fact that the dispute regarding Old Church Slavonic literature and liturgy has been a recurrent theme since the times of Josef Dobrovský, the amount of literature accumulated around individual Old Church Slavonic texts is often extensive. It is not the objective of following pages to give a comprehensive account of the entire discussion, but rather to point out the often extremely disparate opinions regarding the time and place of the texts' origin, as well as the reasons leading to their being written in the first place. A secondary objective of this chapter is capturing the possible argumentation methods used in a field where several disciplines—most importantly paleo-Slavic studies, literary theory, historiography, liturgics and archaeology—converge, in an attempt to piece together a meaningful whole.

The number of Old Church Slavonic compositions allegedly dating to tenth century Bohemia is very small indeed, and their attribution, therefore extremely difficult. The assumption that interaction between two cultural worlds—the East and the West—was only possible in Bohemia and Moravia plays a considerable role in determining the time and place of individual documents' origins. Elements of the two cultural spheres were gradually assumed to have been discovered in individual texts and subsequently used for chronological and local attribution. Certain efforts typical

of literary history as such were also apparent: linking individual texts to particular known authors or connecting them to significant events. This is hardly an arbitrary process. Instead, it may be seen as an attempt at legitimizing the dating endeavours by building on the particular and the familiar.

However, a more significant group of arguments describing some of the Old Church Slavonic texts as older and allegedly of Bohemian origin was presented by philologists. The state of knowledge of Old Church Slavonic, especially its phonetics and phonetic changes—which rank among the best studied aspects of the language, were considered extremely important grounds for examining the relics' chronological placement.[183] Exposing so-called Bohemisms, i.e. phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical elements only found in Bohemia, though perhaps only in later periods, played a vital role.[184]

This approach unfortunately presents a number of problems, as previously noted by František Graus:[185] though presupposing that language changes are verifiable, we are currently working with a language with practically no corpus apart from several relics, only linguistically allocated in time and place. However, according to Graus, the origin of all of the texts in question is disputed. Moreover, these are Old Church Slavonic texts, providing only subtle indications as to their origin. Nevertheless, one key argument allows us to use these constructions while turning the ostensibly inevitable vicious cycle into a hermeneutic approach: in case changes

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[183] At that time, however, it is not possible to denote the language as Czech, it was rather a certain dialect of Old Slavonic, of which Church Slavonic is only a standardized version. On the chronology of the genesis of individual Slavonic languages on the basis of differentiation of vocabulary by means of the so-called glottochronology, see at least Miroslav Čejka, Adolf Erhart, and Arnošt Lamprecht, "K otázce vzniku a diferenciace slovanských jazyků," *SPFFBU* A 11 (1965): 5–20.

[184] In this regard, pioneering works were written by Sobolevský at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. Cf. also Miloš Weingart, *Československý typ cirkevnej slovančiny: Jeho pamiatky a význam* (Bratislava: Slovenská akademia vied a umení, 1949). More recently especially Miroslav Vepřek, *Česká redakce církevní slovanštiny z hlediska lexikální analýzy* (Olomouc: Refugium Velehrad-Roma, 2006).

[185] Cf. Graus in his commentary on the article Radoslav Večerka, "Cyrilometodějský kult v české středověké tradici," *ČsČH* 12 (1964): 40–43, František Graus, "Slovanská liturgie a písemnictví v přemyslovských Čechách 10. století," *ČsČH* 14 (1966): 473–495, at 491–492. Besides questioning philological methods, František Graus also points out that in tenth century Bohemia there were no ecclesiastical centres where such works would have been composed. Moreover, he mentions that even if the searched-for and found "Bohemisms" in earlier Old Slavonic works could be trusted, it would not be a proof of their composition in the Czech lands, since they might have been written by a Czech person in a foreign country. Nevertheless, this assertion is so awkward that there is no need to disprove it.

are found in several texts, it is possible to consider their origin as concurrent in both time and place.[186] The argumentation presented by František Graus, who never offered a constructive solution, is thus rendered obsolete. Moreover, from a methodological point of view, the non-existence of comparative material posited by Graus is only valid in case scientific deductions are assessed according to a set of definite and constant assertions. No science, however, is like this.[187] Indeed, if Graus' notions were to be accepted, they would need to be applied to his own field of study, i.e. history, which would be consequently reduced to copying sources—at best. This is a necessary inference, which, however, even František Graus in his skepticism would have to refuse. His objections may perhaps hold true when applied to particular scholarly texts, but cannot be applied to linguistics as a whole.

On the other hand, Graus' criticism is understandable—especially with respect to the manner in which some of the so-called lexical Bohemisms were being selected. Due to a shortage of dictionaries focusing on the historical phases of given Slavonic languages in Graus' day, linguists did not hesitate to use modern dictionaries.[188] This naturally led to rather problematic conclusions.

Not even František Graus succeeded in changing the fact that as historiographers, we are compelled to take Slavists and their arguments seriously, verifying their evidence step by step. The process naturally requires a certain measure of cautiousness and distance and František Graus had every right to point this out. All that remains to be done now is to analyze the few texts that linguists as well as some historians associate with tenth-century Bohemia.

It is also clear that the results obtained in various linguistic fields may be—at least to some extent—arranged hierarchically. Phonological evidence is relatively stable, as it has by far the most material at its disposal. Even relatively short texts are composed of hundreds of characters and phonemes. Such collections facilitate the convincing utilization of statistical survey methods in analyzing certain linguistic tendencies. Phenomena

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[186] A model study is undoubtedly the review Radoslav Večerka, "Anmerkungen zu den Kiever glagolitischen Blättern: In margine des Buches von J. Schaeken Die Kiever Blätter, Amsterdam 1987 (= Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics 9)," *Byzantinoslavica* 49 (1988): 46–58. I am grateful to Vladimír Vavřínek for this information.

[187] The sociological dimension of science is not taken into consideration.

[188] Cf. e.g. František V. Mareš, "Pražské zlomky a jejich původ ve světle lexikálního rozboru," in František V. Mareš, *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague: Torst, 2000), 355–367.

pointing to a given document's Bohemian origin include most notably the following: a shift from [tj], [kt] and [dj] to [c] and [z], from [stj] and [skj] to [šč], the disappearance of the [e] in the genitive of the 1st person pronoun (mene—mne), the spread of the vy- prefix, the decline of the excrescent l, and shifts in the occurrence of the jer and nasal consonants.[189]

Lexical material also offers a sufficient range of evidence facilitating a potential examination of the origin of Old Church Slavonic texts. The last inspired analysis to date has been carried out by Miroslav Vepřek. His work was based on materials encountered in the *Old Church Slavonic Dictionary* and documented only in texts of Bohemian origin– either in isolated cases, several cases in one text, or in more than one text, but of indisputably Bohemian origin—thus obtaining a group of 1,372 lexemes.[190] Vepřek also delimited a group of 608 words, labeling them potential Bohemisms. He based his assumptions on the materials found in two comprehensive dictionaries by Miklosich and Sreznevsky. However, he failed to provide a clear set of criteria used for establishing potential Bohemisms; the reader must infer that these were either words not found in either dictionary or words coming from document material of Bohemian origin. In any case, the author only acquired a much more reliable corpus on carrying out a comparative analysis of Old Church Slavonic texts and materials included in the *Old Czech Dictionary*.[191] Miroslav Vepřek thus obtained a total of 203 words he considered of Bohemian origin.[192] Of these, only a mere 78 lexemes, i.e. 6 % of the total, were to be found in more than one text.[193] Miroslav Vepřek finally established a very small group of 57 words, which were to be found in the *Old Czech Dictionary* and simultaneously did not appear in the dictionaries by Sreznevsky and Miklosich; this group allegedly exhibited the closest ties to a Bohemian environment.[194] Finally,

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[189] Cf. Radoslav Večerka, *Staroslověnština v kontextu slovanských jazyků* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci; Euroslavica, 2006), 100. This catalogue of examples from the area of phonology is quite common, it appears already in Weingart, *Československý typ*, 35–37, 38–39, 109–112.

[190] Vepřek, *Česká redakce církevní slovanštiny*, 28–31. The anthology of texts of Czech origin—precisely 13 of them—is determined by research tradition. A more detailed morphological characteristic of the analysed material provides Vepřek at 33–96. The work contains a table (at p. 121) concerning the frequency of appearence of these words in the documents in question.

[191] Ibid., 101–107.

[192] Ibid., 115–119.

[193] Ibid., 148–154.

[194] Ibid., 119–120.

Miroslav Vepřek did not fail to note that not every Bohemism is necessarily evidence of a given text's Bohemian origin.[195]

The importance of his findings for the attribution of actual documents remains open to discussion. Analyses of particular texts have exposed Bohemisms after examining a relatively small number of documents.[196] The entire concept is likewise problematic due to the fact that it presupposes but does not verify the existence of a fixed corpus of texts of Bohemian origin.

The first of these is the so-called *First Life of St. Wenceslas.* The discovery of one version of the manuscript was a truly sensational event.[197] It is still considered a valuable resource, especially due to its allegedly simple, even non-legendary style, which was and still may be considered reliable and believable, even in the pragmatic and secular modern period.[198] Manuscript findings started to be more and more common; by the turn of the twentieth century, historians and Slavists had identified the Vostokov (1827) and the Menology (1847) as well as the Croatian (1903) variant.[199]

The first of these—the so-called Vostokov variant of the *First Life of St. Wenceslas*—is only known from a sixteenth-century manuscript including a description of holy days and the lives of saints.[200] The Menology variant likewise does not date back to before the early modern period: the nine manuscripts all come from the sixteenth to seventeenth century.[201] Only the so-called Croatian variant dates to the Middle Ages; four medieval

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[195] Ibid., 28–31.

[196] Ibid., 121–148.

[197] The manusript was found in 1827 and made known in Czech lands by means of the translation by Václav Hanka, "Petrohradská Legenda o svatém Václavu," *ČNM* 4 (1830): 453–462. Its first considerable critical analysis was the work František Palacký, "O umučení sv. Václava, podlé legendy slovanské, úvaha kritická," *ČNM* 11 (1837): 406–417.

[198] E.g. Dušan Třeštík regards this work as a reflection of domestic tradition—and thus a "real" image of events concerning Wenceslas death—and points out those parts of the account which do not fit into the hagiographical mold, see the analytical work Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 530–935*, 225–248. On treacherousness of faith in simple narratives, see Tzvetan Todorov, "Primitivní vyprávění: Odysseia," in Tzvetan Todorov, *Poetika prózy* (Praha: Triáda 2000), 112–140. For tenth century latin language see Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum*, 99–113. But we should not forgett, that something according to taste is not the same as typical.

[199] Václav Vondrák, "Nový text hlaholský církevněslovanské legendy o sv. Václavu," *ČNM* 77 (1903): 145–162, 435–448; František Pastrnek, *Slovanská legenda o sv. Václavu*, VKČSN, třída fil.-hist.-jazyjozp. 1903, no. 6 (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1904).

[200] *Sborník staroslověnských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Lidmile*, edited by Josef Vajs (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1929), 11; Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda," 114.

[201] *Sborník staroslověnských literárních památek*, 12–13. Two newly discovered manuscripts are referred to in Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda," 114–115.

manuscripts are known: Lublin (turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century), the Novi Breviary (fifteenth century), Rome (fourteenth century) and the Moscow Breviary (1443).[202] A scheme taking into account all of these manuscripts has yet to be developed. Agreement has only been reached with respect to declaring that the Russian and the Croat versions come from two separate archetypes. The Menology variant is allegedly the most recent, while being the least faithful to the original text.[203] Scholars, however, disagree on which text is to be considered more authentic. Some prefer the shorter Croat "missal" version,[204] while others consider the Vostokov edition more genuine.[205] The different opinions regarding the priority of individual versions are closely connected to the question of dating.

Although all known manuscripts are of late medieval origin at best and although they all come from outside the Přemyslid principality, scholars agree on the fact that the text comes from tenth-century Bohemia.[206] Attempts at placing its origin in Kievan Rus[207] or even Croatia[208] have never become mainstream. Apart from pointing out various linguistic

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[202] *První staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu: Charvátohlaholská redakce*, 31–32.

[203] Despite the fact that e.g. Pekař preferred this version, see Josef Pekař, review of *Slovanská legenda o sv. Václavu*, by František Pastrnek, *ČČH* 9 (1903): 324–328. Recently in favour of this view, see Jan Podhorný, "Sporné otázky dvou staroslověnských legend václavských," *Slavia* 45 (1976): 159–174. See edition in *První staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu: Text minejní*, edited by N.J. Serebrjanskij, in *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek*, 20–28.

[204] Vondrák, "Nový text hlaholský," 146–147. Affirmatively, see Weingart, *První česko-církevněslovanská legenda*, 44–78 and Oldřich Králík, "K historii textu I. staroslověnské legendy václavské," *Slavia* 29 (1960): 434–452. Most recently, see Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 535–935*, 198–200.

[205] Recently, see Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda," 115–116. Conf. Ватрослав ЯГИЩ, "Легенда о св. Вящеславе," *Русский филологищеский вестник* 48 (1902): 48, 95 (according to Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda," 115, n. 23.); Roman Jakobson, "Některé ruské ohlasy české hagiografie, 1: Přenesení ostatků sv. Václava," in Roman Jakobson, *Cyrilometodějské studie*, edited by Bohuslav Havránek, Luboš Řeháček, and Jaroslav Porák (Prague: Euroslavica, 1970/1995), 72–86; František V. Mareš, "Rok smrti sv. Václava v I. církevněslověnské svatováclavské legendě," in František V. Mareš, *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague: Torst, 2000), 328–340; František V. Mareš, "Příspěvky k I. církevněslověnské legendě václavské," in František V. Mareš, *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague: Torst, 2000), 341–346.

[206] Most recently Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda," 113–127.

[207] Vondrák initially argued in favour of Russian origin of the work, but later he rejected this hypothesis, see Vondrák, "Nový text," 442.

[208] E.g. Třeštík originally believed in its Croatian origin, see Dušan Třeštík, "Miscellanea k I. staroslovanské legendě o sv. Václavu: 'Každý, kdo povstává proti pánu svému, podoben jest Jidáši'," *ČsČH* 15 (1967): 337–343. He never explicitly rejected this hypothesis, but in his later works it is clear that he changed his opoinion in favour of the Czech lands.

distinctives,[209] experts have also noted that the text only mentions one miracle, only a prayer to the saint and not even an actual plea. The reasons are plain to see: this Old Church Slavonic legend includes information not found in other St. Wenceslas legends. This extra information testifies the author's knowledge of the Bohemian environment.[210] Furthermore, the cult of St. Wenceslas was at first unique to Bohemia. Neither Kievan Rus nor the emerging Hungarian nation had been baptized, while no traces of the early cult of St. Wenceslas are to be found in Croatia.

It is not completely clear whether the legend emerged immediately after Wenceslas' death or several decades later. Slavists in particular tend to insist on the earlier date of origin. Their assumptions are based on the dating of the translation of St. Wenceslas listed in the collection of Prague annals—i.e. the year 938—which they considered the beginning of the cult of St. Wenceslas, and on the premise of great differences in the portrayal of St. Wenceslas in the oldest Latin legends and in the *First Life of St. Wenceslas*, they come to the conclusion that the latter must have corresponded to a different phase of the St. Wenceslas cult.[211] Because the annals come from the end of the tenth century and is in all probability based on information found in the legends which place the translation into the symbolic third year following Wenceslas' death, it is not exactly the most reliable of sources.[212] It is likewise not possible to ascribe chronological importance to the different concepts of sainthood without previous research.

Dušan Třeštík, on the other hand, holds a different point of view. Though he himself never explicitly dated the document's origin, his genealogy of the Wenceslas legends implies that he places its origin into the period after the composition of the oldest Wenceslas legend, a lost legend X, and

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[209] Use of the verb "to love" in the sense of *amare* or of the term *kostel*, "church" is usually stressed in this regard, see *Sborník staroslověnských literárních památek*, 32–33. Researchers point out archaic forms of the aorist or use of the past transgressive, see ibid., 32–33. Weingart, *Československý typ*, 51 mentions the expression *въ срькви св. Марийę, божии раби, лйуди всę миловаше, ти же намлъвищę Вещиеславу, Вęштеслава же отидо рассěчена, крърь же йего по три дьни нерачи в ъземлю ити*. CF. Radoslav Večerka, "Bohemismy v první stsl. legendě Václavské," *Slavia* 30 (1961): 417–422.

[210] Cf. *Sborník staroslověnských literárních památek*, 33–34. Budeč, Virgin Mary's church, Hněvsa's name and a precise place of Wenceslas burial are mentioned here.

[211] Weingart, *První česko-církevněslovanská legenda*, 100–102. See also Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda," 123, 126.

[212] On its dating, see especially Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 535–935*, 99–116.

before the emergence of *Legenda Christiani*, i.e. into the third decade of the tenth century.[213]

Though the *First Life of St. Wenceslas* is the most conspicuous and best known, it is hardly the only possible witness testifying to the existence of Old Church Slavonic literature in Boleslav's Bohemia. The *St. Vitus Legend,* translated from Latin, could constitute further evidence.[214] However, Martin Pelc places this document in Moravia as early as the ninth century.[215] He points out that this legend—in the Cyrillic version and together with the *Life of Methodius*—is to be found in a manuscript dating to the turn of the thirteenth century. The legend also features a somewhat archaic lexicon and dated stylistic expressions.[216] For that matter, Vladimír Ryneš had reached a similar conclusion in 1966, based on his considerations that while the *Asseman* and *Ostromir Gospels* do include St. Vitus, they do not yet make any mention of St. Wenceslas or St. Ludmila.[217] This would in turn imply that the cult of St. Vitus was a comparatively ancient one in the Slavonic milieu, with beginnings dating most likely as early as the ninth century. Vladimír Ryneš considers an allusion to St. Vitus found in the *Prayer against the Devil* further evidence supporting his hypothesis of the great age of the cult of St. Vitus.[218] According to Vladimír Ryneš, it may well have been Methodius who spread the respect for both saints on return from captivity in East Frankish Empire.

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[213] Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, 11; Králík, "K historii textu," The author's dating is similar to Dušan Třeštík's view.

[214] Guido Kappel, "Die slavische Vituslegende und ihr lateinisches Original," *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch* 20 (1974): 71–85.

[215] MartinPelc, "Doba a místo vzniku archetypu svatovítské legendy," *Slavia* 53 (1984): 334–339. This document was discovered by Josef Vajs, "Hlaholský zlomek nalezený v Augustiniánském klášteře v Praze," *ČNM* 75 (1901): 21–35. See also Ladislav Matějka, "Dvije cirkevnoslavenske legende o svetom Vidu," *Slovo* 23 (1973): 97–113.

[216] Pelc, "Doba a místo vzniku archetypu," 336–337.

[217] Václav Ryneš, "K počátkům úcty sv. Víta v českých zemích: Připomínka k dílu Viléma Hrubého, Staré Město – Velkomoravský Velehrad," *Slavia* 35 (1966): 592–593.

[218] Vladimír Ryneš dates this *Prayer* to after 870 due to a reference to St. Walpurga—canonized in 869. Most recently the analysis in Václav Konzal, "Staroslověnská Modlitba proti ďáblovi," *Europa orientalis* 11, no. 2 (1992): 117–231; see also Emílie Bláhová and Václav Konzal, "Slovanská legenda svatovítská," in *Staroslověnské legendy českého původu: Nejstarší kapitoly z dějin česko-ruských kulturních vztahů*, edited by Emílie Bláhová, Václav Konzal, and Aleksandr I. Rogov (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1976), 317–362. The origins of St Walpurga's cult date back only to a later time, after 893, see HermannHolzbauer, *Mittelalterliche Heiligenverehrung: Hl. Walpurgis*, Eichstätter Studien, N. F. 5 (Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker, 1972). (According to Herman Kølln, *Westkirchliches in altkirchenslavischer Literatur aus Grossmähren und Böhmen.* Historisk-filosofske Meddelelser der Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab 87 (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 2003), 47–52).

Speculations about the Bohemian origin of the *Prayer against the Devil* abound, and that text also raises some questions. A new analysis by Václav Konzal, in particular in comparison with the *Life of Methodius*, clearly indicates that the text is of Great Moravian origin. As such, it cannot be listed as tenth-century "Bohemian" literature.[219]

The fate of the so-called canons of St. Wenceslas,[220] preserved in a manuscript dating to 1095–1097, is also rather unclear. The final version of this compilation of canons was only composed in Kievan Rus. However, Emil Pražák places their origin at the close of the 10th and associates them with St. Adalbert.[221] According to Pražák, since they are linked to the feast of translation, they must have emerged in an area where such a feast was actually to be found. Pražák notes that Bohemia would have been such an area and, according to the *Licet plura* legend, it was St. Adalbert who introduced the feast.[222]

However, Emil Pražák picked up on the conclusions of Heinrich G. Voigt,[223] who had based the dating of this Latin sermon solely on the assertions of the legend-writer who had claimed to have drawn on testimony provided by eyewitnesses. This is evidently a cliché, as previously pointed out by Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, and can hardly be considered relevant in dating the *Licet plura*.[224] Moreover, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský as well as Rudolf Urbánek have pointed out that since the author of the *Licet plura* cites a text originating—at the earliest—at the close of the eleventh century but most likely even later, i.e. *Oportet nos fratres*, he could not have been St. Adalbert's contemporary.[225] There is therefore no evidence of the feast of translation originating in St. Adalbert's times, shattering one of Pražák's

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[219] Konzal, "Staroslověnská Modlitba," 171–231.

[220] *Kánon ke cti sv. Václavu*, edited by N.J. Serebrjanskij, in *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Lidmile*, edited by Josef Vajs (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1929), 139–145.

[221] Emil Pražák, "K otázce původu a geneze slovanského václavského kánonu," *LF* 95 (1972): 215–220; Václav Konzal in *Staroslověnské legendy českého původu*, 221 proved that the author of the canons knew the *Licet plura*.

[222] *Licet plura*, in Josef Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 385–388.

[223] Heinrich G. Voigt, *Der Sermon von der Uebertragung des H. Wenzel*, Sb. d. kgl. A. d. W. in Prag, Klasse für Philos., Gesch. u. Philol. 1906, no. 6 (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1907).

[224] Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Latinské legendy českého středověku," *SPFFBU* E 18–19 (1973–1974): 267–308, at 283.

[225] Ludvíkovský, "O Kristiána, 2," 202. Already František Vacek rejected the idea that the legend dates back to the tenth century with regard to the mention of St Adalbert as comfessor, see František Vacek, "Úvahy a posudky o literatuře svatováclavské," *Sborník historického kroužku* 28 (1927): 89–96.

key arguments in favour of the early dating of the St. Wenceslas canon. Even if the early dating of the *Licet plura* were accepted, the establishing of the feast of translation of St. Wenceslas would only supply a *terminus post quem* regarding the origins of the Old Church Slavonic canon. The way St. Wenceslas is addressed in the 7th and 8th song may perhaps be considered to constitute something of a clue, however uncertain; he is labeled the "pride and glory of his country",[226] a formulation not unlike some of the appellations found in the *Legenda Christiani*. In summary, it may be said that the emergence of the St. Wenceslas canons may only be associated with the Bohemian environment of 990 and 1095–1097 with some reservations. It is therefore most likely impossible to include the canons in a corpus of tenth-century Old Church Slavonic literature of Bohemian origin.

On the other hand, the song *Hospodine pomiluj ny* might have been considered a text which could perhaps have emerged in tenth-century Bohemia.[227] However, an analysis of the preserved manuscript failed to yield the desired information as *Hospodine pomiluj ny* is only known from a late fourteenth-century codex. Two separate allusions constitute clues—however weak—allowing us to shift its origin into the thirteenth century and perhaps even place it at the turn of the eleventh century: firstly, an unidentified song of St. Adalbert is mentioned in the *Annales Ottacariani* and, secondly, an unspecified festive hymn is also mentioned by Cosmas himself.[228] According to philologists, the character of the text itself speaks in favour of an early dating[229] and though it is plausible that the song actu-

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[226] *Kánon ke cti sv. Václavu*, songs 7–8, 144–145.

[227] *Hospodine, pomiluj ny*, in Jan Lehár, *Česká středověká lyrika* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1990), 123, with an analysis at 15–29.

[228] *Annales Ottacariani*, edited by Josef Emler, FRB 2 (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1874), 319: "Nuntii regis Ungariae, qui missi fuerant ex parte eius ad principem Bohemiae, retulerunt coram eodem principe et baronibus eius, quod hora congressionis exercituum ad invicem, Bohemi valido clamore in coelum exaltato canentes hymnum a sancto Adalberto editum, quod populus singulis diebus dominicis et aliis festivitatibus ad processionem cantat, equi adversariorum invitis sessoribus fugam arripuerunt."; *Cosmae Chronica* 2.14, 103.

[229] On argumentation of earlier literature, see Jan Lehár *Hospodine pomiluj ny*, 15–29. The most recent attempt to prove its origins at the times of St Adalbert, see the study published post mortem—František V. Mareš, "Hospodine, pomiluj ny," in František V. Mareš, *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague: Torst, 2000), 403–476. His not quite clear solution was also accepted, without further reasoning, by other scholars, see Václav Konzal, "Církevněslovanská literatura—slepá ulička na prahu české kultury?" in *Speculum medii aevi: Zrcadlo středověku; Sborník přenášek*, edited by Lenka Jiroušková (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 1998), 150–162, at 154–155. Weingart, *Československý typ*, 87–106 concludes

ally emerged during the tenth century, it is impossible to establish this fact with complete certainty.[230]

It has been established that only the *First Life of St. Wenceslas* may be unequivocally associated with tenth-century Bohemia. However, it cannot be ruled out that *Hospodine pomiluj ny* and the *St. Vitus Legend* also emerged in Bohemia or Moravia at the time. The chronological attribution of additional texts, previously associated with tenth-century Bohemia by František V. Mareš, was generally challenged and such texts are most likely to be considered the work of eleventh century translators.

However, when searching for answers to the above mentioned problems, it is inconceivable to simply bypass texts which did not emerge in the Czech lands in the 10th but rather in the 11th century. That is to say that literature composed in the vernacular naturally did not disappear at the close of the tenth century. A large number of translations and independent texts emerged in Bohemian and Moravian lands during the eleventh century.[231] The *Pseudo-Gospel of Nicodeme*, the *Molitvennik Jaroslavskij*, a translation of the *Gospel Homilies* of St. Gregory the Great[232] as well as his alleged prayers[233] all come from the tenth or eleventh century; *Life of St. Benedict,*[234] *Life of St. Appollinary,*[235] *Life of St. Anastasia*[236] and the *Life*

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that the song in its preserved form is a result of a long and complicated development, which he attempts to sketch on the basis of an analysis.

[230] *Hospodine pomiluj ny*, 28–29.

[231] An older list, see in František V. Mareš, "Slovanská liturgie v Čechách v době založení pražského bikusptví," in František V. Mareš, *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague: Torst, 2000), 477–489. More recent, less voluminous lists, see in Emílie Bláhová, "Ke klasifikaci českocírkevněslovanských památek," *Slavia* 62 (1993): 427–442, and Zoe Hauptová, "Církevně slovanské písemnictví v přemyslovských Čechách," in *Jazyk a literatura v historické perspektivě*, edited by Dobrava Moldanová (Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita J.E. Purkyně, 1998), 5–42.

[232] Most recently published in *Čtyřicet homilií Řehoře Velikého na evangelia v českocírkevněslovanském překladu*, edited by Václav Konzal and František Čajka, 2 vols, Práce Slovanského ústavu, N.Ř., 20, no. 1–2 (Prague: Slovanský ústav Akademie věd České republiky; Euroslavica, 2005–2006). See also a model work in terms of methodology Johannes M. Reinhart, "Methodisches zu den lexikalischen Bohemismen im Tschechisch-kirchenslavischen am Beispiel der Homilien Gregors des Großen," *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch* 26 (1980): 46–102. This work was a reply to attempts to question the importance of Bohemisms with regard to search for origins of written sources.

[233] Most recently, see Miroslav Vepřek, "Církevněslovanská Modlitba sv. Řehoře a její původ v komparaci s latinskou předlohou," *Slavia* 76 (2007): 1–11. This work proposes a reconstruction of the relation to Latin manuscripts of this text.

[234] Emílie Bláhová, "Staroslověnský Život Benediktův," *Slavia* 61 (1992): 395–408.

[235] Francis J. Thomson, "The Slavonic vita of St Apollinaris of Ravenna," *Palaeoslavica* 11 (2003): 194–198. (I did not have this work at my disposal.)

[236] Cf. most recently František Čajka, "Rukopisné zachování legendy o svaté Anastazii," *Slavia* 77 (2008): 17–28. This work also includes a full text of the earliest Serbian manuscript.

of Stephen protomartyr, likewise originated in the same period. The origin of *Life of St. George*, on the other hand, is quite problematic.[237] The corpus of existing Old Church Slavonic literary texts of Bohemian origin is therefore quite substantial, especially in comparison with the production of Latin texts: a gaping chasm lies between the *Legenda Christiani* (ca. 990) and Cosmas' *Chronica Boëmorum* (ca. 1120).

Previous analyses indicate that it is unfortunately impossible to date most Old Church Slavonic texts with the requisite precision. Texts which may be clearly associated with a tenth-century Bohemian environment are so few in number that any reasoning regarding the continuity of tenth-century Slavonic literature based exclusively on this premise is practically meaningless, at least without a systematic reflection of discussions regarding the processes taking place in literatures of other areas in early medieval Europe. This, however, is beyond the scope of this work and rather a goal for future research.

Apart from the number of preserved texts it is also necessary to take into account their thematic variety. It is likewise important to consider their respective character: while a legend may well exist as a solitary text, there are usually pragmatic dimensions to liturgical and legal texts: their existence indicates the importance of a given language in the life of the community in question.[238] Inscriptions undoubtedly play a similar role. Knowledge of likely Great Moravian documents functioning as models for Old Church Slavonic texts of Bohemian origin is undoubtedly also relevant for considerations regarding the continuity of Old Church Slavonic as a literary language in the Přemyslid principality.

Apart from the above mentioned literary texts, some pragmatically oriented Old Church Slavonic texts of Bohemian origin have also been preserved. These include in particular the *Někotoraja zapověď*, a set of penitential texts, which—though preserved only in a late medieval manu-

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See also Guido Kappel, "Die kirchenslavische Anastasienlegende," *Slavia* 40 (1971): 9–19, where the Old Slavonic text appears next to its newly discovered Latin model.

[237] On the rejection of Bohemian origin of the *Life of St. George*, see Francis J. Thomson, "A Survey of the Vitae Allegedly Translated from Latin into Slavonic in Bohemia in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *VIII. atti dell' 8° Congresso internazionale di studio sull' Alto Medioevo 'La cultura Bulgara nel Medioevo balcanico tra Oriente e Occidente Europeo'* (*Spoleto, 3–6 novembre 1981*) (Spoleto: Centro, 1983), 331–348.

[238] Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1986). It is not possible to deal with a wide range of questions connected with the issue of mutual interconnections between written legal norms and social practice in the early Middle Ages, see at least Wormald, "Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis," 105–138; Siems, "Zu Problemen der Beweitung frühmittelalterlicher Rechtstexte," 291–305.

script from Kievan Rus—had been cited prior to the year 1150. Numerous terms known from early collections of Bohemian law provide sufficient evidence of its Bohemian origin.[239]

Another text of similar importance is the so-called *Kiev Missal*, a significant liturgical text and likely also the oldest Old Church Slavonic manuscript. In a comprehensive work, Josef Schaeken associates the text with the area around Lake Balaton,[240] but his conclusions are convincingly challenged by Radoslav Večerka who points out that Schaeken's attempts at associating the text with a unique South Slavic dialect preserved solely in this very text are methodologically somewhat unsound.[241] Večerka also points out its linguistic proximity to the so-called *Prague Fragments*, another Old Church Slavonic hymnal text of Bohemian origin.[242]

Apart from the below mentioned Church Slavonic texts of Bohemian origin, we are likewise aware of several comments in a manuscript originally found in the Ostrov Monastery.[243] Also significant, if rather solitary in the context of these considerations, is a thirteenth-century inscription discovered in a church in Levín.[244]

Distinguishing links between Bohemian and Great Moravian texts constitutes an important factor. The fact that Old Church Slavonic models, specifically the *Life of Methodius* and *Life of Cyrill*, were used in composing the *First Life of St. Wenceslas* had already been established by Miloš Weingart. He found structural similarities between the *First Life of St. Wenceslas* and the *Life of Methodius* and *Life of Cyrill* as well as noting that all three

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[239] Josef Vašica, "Církevněslovanský penitenciál českého původu," *Slavia* 29 (1963) 31–48. The basis of this corpus is the Penitential of St Boniface. Also a consistent transformation of [ę] into [a] stands in favour of the eleventh century.

[240] Josef Schaeken*, Die Kiewer Blätter* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987). But this author does not connect their origins with the Czech lands. The chronology of the *Prague Fragments* is unclear as well. But he takes for granted that they originate from the Czech lands. See also Herman Kølln, "Ke vzniku Kyjevských listů a Modlitby proti ďáblu," *Bibliotheca Strahoviensis* 3 (1997): 119–123, at 119–120, who argues in favour of Bohemia, since, according to him, at the Cyrillo-Methodian times the Byzantine liturgy was used.

[241] Večerka, "Anmerkungen zu den Kiever glagolitischen Blättern," 46–58.

[242] František V. Mareš, "Pražské zlomky a jejich předloha ve světle háskoslovného rozboru," in František V. Mareš. *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague: Torst, 2000), 347–354, and Mareš, "Pražské zlomky a jejich předloha ve světle lexikálního rozboru," 355–367.

[243] Miroslav Flodr, "Paleografické poznámky k rajhradskému rukopisu Adova martyrologia," *ČMM* 75 (1956): 323–338. It is the manuscript MZK Rajhrad 388, on more details, see Dokoupil, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny benediktinů v Rajhradě*, 189–190.

[244] František V. Mareš, "Levínský nápis: Epigrafický doklad cyrilice v Čechách," in František V. Mareš, *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague: Torst, 2000), 490–501.

authors utilize an analogous vocabulary.[245] Václav Konzal has recently endorsed his conclusions when further analyzing similarities between the three texts and he succeeded in supporting Weingart's theses not only with new lexical and stylistic evidence, but also through the analysis of shared motives.[246] Even the author of the *Legenda Christiani* made use of the *Life of Methodius* and *Life of Cyrill*, in effect demonstrating that the boundaries between Latin and Old Church Slavonic were not altogether impermeable.

It has been ascertained that the Old Church Slavonic literature in Bohemia offers a large number of texts representing a relatively wide variety of genres. Many of these texts are not literary per se, tenth- to eleventh-century Bohemia also yielded several texts entirely pragmatic in character. Instances of Great Moravian texts used in Přemyslid times are further evidence in favour of Old Church Slavonic constituting a firmly rooted literary language. However, due to the fact that the majority of said texts are translations from Latin, it is necessary to detract somewhat from these conclusions and—rather than speaking of the continuity Old Church Slavonic literature—speak instead of the continuity of a specific alphabet and a tradition of translating Latin and possibly even Greek texts into Old Church Slavonic, a tradition upheld since Great Moravian times until at least the late eleventh century. Findings of predominantly Latin models of such Old Church Slavonic texts of Bohemian origin also cast doubt on efforts directed at establishing Old Church Slavonic literature as evidence of an eastern, Byzantine movement in the Bohemian cultural tradition during Přemyslid times. Instead, the Bohemian environment may be seen as one of the mediators of Latin culture in the direction of Kievan Rus.

Following František Graus, the next question may now be addressed: where did these texts come from, when Bohemian lands only hold evidence of a small number of churches with the archpresbytery of St. George at the helm? Furthermore, is it really necessary to presuppose the existence of an entire institution devoted exclusively to the protection of Old Church Slavonic literature? It has been previously pointed out that Old Church Slavonic was very close to the language apparently spoken throughout Bohemia.[247] As such, it would have been spoken by all clergy present in Bohemia at the time. Though a specific alphabet may have pre-

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[245] Weingart, *První česko-církevněslovanská legenda*, 155–159.
[246] Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda," 114.
[247] At that time, this probably held true to a large extent, see below, n. 183, p. 210.

sented something of a problem, it could hardly have been considered a difficulty for priests in Bohemia and Moravia to learn it.

While the tenth century offers no more than a handful of texts confirming the emergence of Old Church Slavonic literature and, furthermore, since evidence of liturgy practiced in the vernacular is likewise rather scant, both phenomena are later on quite unequivocally associated with Sázava. The importance of the Sázava Monastery need not be disputed. A more than outstanding collection of relics, noted by the Sázava glossator of the *Chronica Boëmorum* on the occasion of consecration of the Chapel of the St. Cross in 1070 as well as—later on—the Basilica of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist in 1095 provides ample evidence to that effect.[248] However, rather than providing evidence of why the monastery was founded and how it functioned for several decades, this clue is relevant only insofar as the importance of the monastery during the governance of abbot Božetěch is concerned.[249] Speculations designating Sázava as an exclusive institution upholding Slavonic tradition from the very beginning of its existence are therefore completely inconclusive.

After all, evidence of the Slavonic character of the Sázava Monastery is far from abundant. Its first abbot Procopius is associated with the heritage of Constantine and Methodius only in twelfth-century texts,[250] the Sázava-based glossator of the *Chronica Boëmorum* is aware of unspecified Slavonic books.[251] On the other hand, the only manuscript featuring Slavonic comments which may be unequivocally attributed to a Bohemian church institution is not associated with Sázava, but with the Ostrov Monastery.[252]

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[248] *Cosmae Chronica* 2.27, 120 according to the MS A³ to the year 1070: "Indictione IIII, epacta VI, concurr. II, III Kal. Julii praesul Gebehardus consecravit ecclesiam in Zazoa in honore s. Crucis, in cuius ara continentur reliquie sanctae Crucis, de vestimento s. Mariae, Petri apostoli, Stephani prothomartyris sanctique Georgii martyris."; ibid., 3.4, 163–164 according to the MS A³ to the year 1095.

[249] The problem is that it is not certain when the eleventh-century abbots of Sázava assumed their office. Only the year of Prokop's death is known. As regards further infromation, one can ounuly assume that Abbot Vitus mentioned in the charter for the Hradiště Monastery (1079) might have been of Sázava, see *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 79, 83.

[250] *Über die Gründung des Klosters Sazawa*, chap. 1, 242; [Sancti Prokopi] *Vita minor*. Edd. V. Chaloupecký – B. Ryba, in: Václav Chaloupecký and Bohumil Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské: Jejich historický rozbor a texty* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1953), chap. 1a, 132: "Fuit itaque beatus abbas Procopius, nacione Bohemus, Sclavonicis apicibus [litteris in MS qw], a sanctissimo Quirillo, episcopo, quondam inventis et statutis canonice, admodum inbutus..."

[251] *Über Diethard, Abt des Klosters Sazawa*, edited by Bertold Bretholz, *MGH* SRG N.S. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), 255: "Idem abbas libros, quos non invenit loco sibi comisso preter Sclavonicos, ipsemet nocte et die immenso labore conscripsit..."

[252] Flodr, "Paleografické poznámky," 323–338.

However, it is first of all necessary to examine notions of animosity between the "Slavonic" movement in tenth- and eleventh-century Bohemian culture and its Latin "western" branch. Such questions are closely tied to the issue of the oldest Sázava hagiography and historiography and particularly to the question of motivation for individual texts' emergence.

Several hypotheses handle the interrelationship between the *St. Procopii Vita Minor* (twelfth century) and the anonymous work of the so-called Monk of Sázava (1170s) as well as the circumstances of the founding of the monastery. A prologue dedicated to Bishop of Prague Šebíř (Severus) (1031–1067) and associated with the *Vita Minor* plays a central role in assessing the texts. This proemion is, however, far from indisputable: it is only found in the manuscript A of a different text about St. Procopius, the *Vita Maior*, and was only associated with the *Vita Minor*, i.e. the oldest text about St. Procopius, on the basis of rather vague arguments.[253] Nevertheless, its existence has become a pretext for reflections about the time, place and reasons for the emergence of the *Vita Minor*, its possible model and its relationship to the chronicle of the Monk of Sázava.[254]

Václav Novotný offers a relatively convincing solution, labeling the account of the first abbots included in the chronicle of the Monk of Sázava as the basis of the entire tradition. He likewise concluded that said account was written in an attempt to justify the claims of Procopius' family to the

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[253] See Vaclav Chaloupecky, "Vita minor," in Václav Chaloupecký and Bohumil Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské: Jejich historický rozbor a texty* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1953), 61–66. For chronology of the Legends about St. Prokop see Bohumil Ryba, "Doslov," in Václav Chaloupecký and Bohumil Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské: Jejich historický rozbor a texty* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1953), 278–282; Jana Zachová, "Zu zwei Legenden vom hl. Prokop," AUC Phil. et Hist. 1 (1970), *Graecolatina Pragensia* 4 (1971): 19–26. Petr Krátký, "Legenda 'Vita antiqua' a její místo v řetězu středověkých prokopských legend," Workshop thesis, Ústav klasických studií FF MU, n. d., 8, 11, however, does not regard Ryba's argumentation as convincing and claims that the writer rather used some earlier passages in the 13th-century text of the prologue. But he also points out the term *cambuca*, on a different style also in comparison with the *Vita Maior*, see ibid., 8–9. He believes that the legend could not have been written shortly after Prokop's death, since it contains not enough information of his origin.

[254] On the *Monk of Sázava*, see Novotný, *Zur böhmischen Quellenkunde*, vol. 2. See also the (somewhat chaotic) dispute in the journal *Slavie* – Oldřich Králík, "O existenci slovanské legendy prokopské," *Slavia* 33 (1964): 443–448; Karel Jelínek, "Slovanská a latinská Sázava," *Slavia* 34 (1965): 123–131; Oldřich Králík, "Znovu o existenci slovanské legendy prokopské," *Slavia* 35 (1966): 259–265; Jaroslav Kadlec, "K poměrům na Sázavě v 2. pol. XI. století," *Slavia* 35 (1966): 266–268; Karel Jelínek, "K datování prokopské legendy," *Slavia* 36 (1967): 429–430; Václav Ryneš, "Několik poznámek k počátkům svatoprokopské úcty," *Slavia* 36 (1967): 271–279; Jaroslav Kadlec, "K datování prokopské legendy," *Slavia* 37 (1968): 495–496.

abbatial position and consequently also to the monastery and associated estates. Václav Novotný also voiced a hypothesis pointing out that the primary reason for conflicts between the monastery at Sázava and the prince was a dispute over the execution of founding rights rather than an argument regarding Slavonic liturgy.[255] Property control also provided the real motive for the emergence of the text used by the Monk of Sázava to provide an account of the events of the eleventh century.[256] Václav Novotný specifically foregrounds the emphasis the anonymous author places on listing the conditions of selection of the individual elders. He interprets the miracle involving the eviction of the first Latin abbot along the same lines. Even the fact that Procopius handed over office first to his nephew and later on to his own son is seen as an argument in favour of this particular reading.[257] Alternatively, it would have been possible for a legend (or a different kind of celebratory text) to emerge, still during Šebíř's episcopacy—let us say after the year 1061, explaining how the return of Procopius' devotees from exile actually happened. Later on, possibly during the ongoing quarrels with Sázava Abbot Božetěch and a certain part of the convent, a document emphasizing the importance of Procopius' family would have been attached. This would then form the basis of the various accounts available today. However, the validity of the hypothesis outlined above does not affect the validity of our considerations regarding the relationship of the Sázava community to its "Slavonic" heritage.

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[255] On further information, see especially Novotný, *Zur böhmischen Quellenkunde*, vol. 2, 94–104. See also Kamil Krofta, review of *Zur böhmischen Quellenkunde*, vol. 2, 251–252; Václav Novotný, "V předešlém sešitě...," 361–363. Novotný's viewpoint appears also in Zdeněk Fiala, "O vyjasnění pojmů v marxistickém výkladu starších českých dějin: Na okraj článku D. Třeštíka 'K sociální struktuře přemyslovských Čech'," *ČsČH* 19 (1971): 537–564; 20 (1972): 234–244, at 240 and n. 28. Also Wihoda unknowingly argues in favour of Novotný's opinion, see Wihoda, "Sázavský klášter," 237–250. Petr Kubín, "Byla kanonizace sv. Prokopa pouhou fikcí? K otázce datování Vita s. Procopii Minor," in *Z plnosti Kristovy: Sborník k devadesátinám Oto Mádra*, edited by Eduard Krumpolc, Jolana Poláková, and Ctirad V. Pospíšil (Prague: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 2007), 222–230 agrees with his conclusions. The author questions the very fact of Prokop's canonization and dates the legend to the early 13th century.

[256] See further in the text.

[257] A similar type of literary work is relatively common. Also a type of "hereditary" abbey (but also bishoprics) largely appears in the early Middle Ages. Those institutions attracted the local elites who endowed them with various gifts. Thus, they became centres of given areas and also preserved memory of given families. Since the size of the earliest land property of Sázava is unknown and the existing knowledge of granted gifts is very limited, one must be extremely careful in employment of similar analogies. See Susann Wood, *The Proprietary Church in Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

The notion that a potential strengthening of ties with the Papal Curia had motivated Spytihněv to expel the monks from Sázava in the 1050s[258] is rather questionable in the light of the fact that his successor Vratislav II (1061–1092), who was set on maintaining the same connections with even greater zeal,[259] had permitted the monks to return and was favourably received by the Sázava historians. The second expulsion of the Sázava monks is likewise hardly connected to the repeated papal ban placed on performing liturgy in Slavonic, because the letter of Pope Gregory VII concerning this issue was sent more than 16 years prior to the event.

The Sázava glossator of Cosmas' work—writing in Latin—had not adopted a markedly negative standpoint to the use of the Slavonic language either, only noting that the adversaries of Sázava monks "had maligned them, stating that—by means of using Slavonic letters—they had allegedly become entangled in heresy and hypocrisy and that they are altogether heathen",[260] in effect distancing himself from the "mud-slingers" point of view though in fact he was already a representative of the Latin community at Sázava.

Whereas heresy and its punishment may still be considered a plausible motive for the first dispersal of the community, the same reasons cannot be used to explain the second, taking place in the 1090s. For that matter, the Monk of Sázava does not present the event as a triumph of the Latin rite, but instead uses it to demonstrate the results of quarrels within the monastic community and disobedience to the abbot.[261] According to him,

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[258] See Josef Žemlička, "Mitra českých knížat," Miroslavu Richterovi k životnímu jubileu, *SSPS* 3 (1992): 17–22, at 19–20; Martin Wihoda, "Between the Emperor and the Pope: A Traumatic Century of Czech History," in *The Neighbours of Poland in the eleventh Century*, edited by Przemysław Urbańczyk (Warsaw: DiG, 2002), 127–128.

[259] Cf. *Registra Gregorii.*

[260] See the previous note. Also the statement of an anonymous glossator of Cosmas' chronicle seems to prove this—*Über die Gründung des Klosters Sazawa*, chap. 2, 247: "Instigante namque zelo diaboli, multi emuli ficticia venenosa detractionum conspirantes laqueos cavillationum in curia ducis contra Vitum abbatem et fratres eius astruere ceperunt, atque aures principis favourabiliter compositis mendaciis obfuscantes, eos multiphariis vituperiis publicabant, scilicet dicentes, per Sclavonicas litteras heresis secta ypochrisisque esse aperte irretitos ac omnino perversos; quam ob rem eiectis eis, in loco eorum latinae auctoritatis abbatem et fratres constituere omnino esse honestum constanter affirmabant. O invidia, inextricabilis maliciae zelus! O invidia detestanda, omnimoda malitia conglobata, ignis inextinguibilis!"

[261] *Über die Gründung des Klosters Sazawa*, chap. 3, 251: "Rex autem Wratizlaus iam migravit ad Dominum, cuius tunc successor Bracizlaus sublimitate ducatus Bohemie pollebat. Huius aures cum supranotati fratres per se et per amitos cultus ficticiis et innumeris vituperiis contra abbatem suum Bozetechum compositis obpulsando multiplicarent, idem dux nominatum abbatem de loco superius dicto extirpavit et fratres eiecit. Ibi impleta sunt

the destruction of Slavonic books is not the reason for the community's disintegration. It is rather the result which—far from celebrating—he points out to his brother monks as a warning. It means that the Latin Sázava evidence confirms that there was no automatic animosity between the Latin and Old Church Slavonic cultures in early medieval Bohemia and Moravia.

Considerations concerning Old Church Slavonic literature and its importance in the Přemyslid principality are closely associated with another issue, namely that of so called Old Church Slavonic liturgy. The basic—and hitherto valid—viewpoints have been formulated in a debate between František Graus and Radoslav Večerka.[262] Both maintained that it is necessary to differentiate between Slavonic literature on the one hand and liturgy performed in the vernacular on the other. While historiographers eventually accepted the existence of Old Church Slavonic literature in early medieval Bohemia, attempts at establishing the use of the so-called Old Church Slavonic liturgy were generally rejected.[263]

However, the very term "Old Church Slavonic liturgy" is not entirely accurate, since it refers to the linguistic aspects which need not have always been the defining factor in its characterization from a liturgical point of view. Latin, for example, would have allowed for the performance of both the Roman and e.g. the Constantinople liturgy.

Today's viewpoint is strongly influenced by Josef Dobrovský, who had already admitted that the "Slavonic liturgy" had arrived in Bohemia following Bořivoj's baptism. However, he did not ascribe any fundamental

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verba veritatis: Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves gregis. Abbate itaque eiecto eius fratres, dui prodicionis auctores contra eum extiterant, ex tunc erraverunt usquequaque per incerta loca girovagi, donec ad ultimum aliqui corde compuncti vix in loco proprio recepti, eidem loco inepti vitam finierunt et libri lingue eorum deleti omnino et disperditi nequaquam ulterius in eodem loco recitabuntur".

[262] František Graus, "Velkomoravská říše v české středověké tradici," *ČsČH* 11 (1963): 289–305; Graus, "Slovanská liturgie," 473–495; Radoslav Večerka, "Velkomoravská literatura v přemyslovských Čechách," *Slavia* 32 (1963): 398–416; Večerka, "Cyrilometodějský kult," 40–43; Radoslav Večerka, "Jazykovědný příspěvek k problematice staroslověnského písemnictví v Čechách X. a XI. století," *Slavia* 36 (1967): 421–428.

[263] Most recently, see Dušan Třeštík, "Místo Velké Moravy v dějinách: Ke stavu a potřebám bádání o Velké Moravě," *ČČH* 97 (1999): 689–727, and John M. Clifton-Everest, "Slawische Schrifttum im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert in Böhmen," *Bohemia* 37 (1996): 257–270. See also Herman Kølln, *Westkirchliches in altkirchenslavischer Literatur aus Grossmähren und Böhmen*, Historisk-filosofske Meddelelser der Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab 87 (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 2003).

importance to the handful of priests involved.[264] He also assumed that an unauthorized liturgy would assuredly have been seen as objectionable by the Bishop of Regensburg. The Holy See itself—being opposed to regional liturgies as such—would likewise be far from enthusiastic.[265]

Nevertheless, this widespread notion is fundamentally mistaken. No fixed Roman liturgy used by the entire church had been in existence in the ninth century, much less one strictly enforced by the popes.[266] Quite the contrary: although it is undoubtedly true that unifying movements were gaining momentum, great regional differentiation in liturgy remained the prevailing trend.[267] The papacy likewise remained out of the limelight at that time—as well as for some time to come, with the pope only intervening in moments of crisis in order to resolve a dispute.[268] Three examples follow, illustrating the actual strengths of the papacy and thus its ability to actively intervene in the character of liturgy—from a liturgical point of view as well as in matters of language.

Writing at the turn of the twelfth century, Frutolf of Michelsberg mentions that the pope, attending a liturgy in the cathedral of Mainz, was enraged upon seeing that the rite was not performed precisely according to the Roman liturgy and immediately proceeded to disrobe the local deacon responsible for its coordination. However, he was confronted by the archbishop and forced to retreat, the deacon being subsequently reinstated. Attempts at "rectifying the liturgy" according to the Roman model had therefore foundered—in spite of the pope's personal intervention.[269]

Temporary restrictions imposed on local churches may have also resulted in the weakening of previously imposed strict limitations. The records of the Synod of Split in 925 provide sufficient evidence to that effect. Though the pope had banned "Slavonic" liturgy, he had also

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[264] Josef Dobrovský, *Bořivoj's Taufe: Zugleich eine Probe, wie man alte Legenden für die Geschichte benutzen soll*, Kritische Versuche die ältere böhmische Geschichte von späteren Erdichtungen zu reinigen 1, Abh. d. kgl. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. (Prague, 1803), 111.

[265] Also Graus ponted out this aspect, see Graus, "Velkomoravská říše," 295.

[266] This idea has appeared in historiography already since Dobrovský's times.

[267] On a quite complicated development of western liturgies and liturgical books, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*.

[268] Already Konzal questioned the pope's power, see Konzal, "Církevněslovanská literatura," 151–152. But he does not give relevant arguments.

[269] *Frutolfi Chronicon*, in *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, edited by Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters – Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 15 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), 68. On the liturgy of Mainz, see at least briefly Hermann Reifenberg, "Mainzer Liturgie vor dem Hintergrund des 'Mainzer Chorals'," *AfMiRhKiG* 27 (1975): 9–17.

specified that in case of a lack of priests, it would be possible—on his approval—to employ priests performing liturgy in Slavonic.[270]

A 1074 letter by Gregory VII may be seen as an interesting piece of evidence documenting the efforts of a reforming papacy to repress regional liturgies; the letter also serves as comparative material for another, issued by the same pope six years later, banning the use of the vernacular for liturgical purposes in lands under the reign of Vratislav II (1061–1092).[271] It is perhaps worthwhile to devote some attention to aspects of argumentation exhibited in the letter: not only does the pope refer to the primacy of St. Peter and associate the liturgy of Toledo with the names of well-known heretics, he also draws attention to the fact that all nations of the west and south adhere to the Roman liturgy. Findings concerning the interrelationships between the ever more widespread Roman liturgy, the Cluniac Movement, and royal power are likewise of some value. The king could have been striving to make use of an alliance with the pope and the Cluniac Movement as well as utilize the unifying potential of liturgy to strengthen the integrity of the kingdom on annexing newly conquered regions.[272] Only this unique situation gave the papacy the power to intervene and succeed.

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[270] *Synodus Spalatensis*, 925, edited by Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, MMFH 4 (Brno: Universita J.E. Purkyně, 1971), chap. 10, 124: "Ut nullus episcopus nostrae provinciae audeat <quempiam> in quolibet gradu slavinica linqua promovere; (potest) tam(en) in clericatu et monachatu Deo deservire. Nec in sua ecclesia sinat eam missam facere; praeter si necessitatem sacerdotum haberet, per supplicationem a Romano pontifice licentiam eis sacerdotalis ministerii tribuat."; Lothar Waldmüller, Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn: Von der Völkerwanderungszeit bis zum Ende der Arpaden (1301), Konziliengeschichte A, Darstellungen (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1987), 25–43 claims that despite their doubtful preservation, scholars generally believe in their authenticity.

[271] *Registra Gregorii VII.*, vol. 1, edited by Erich Caspar, *MGH* EE 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1920), 1.64, 92–94 of March, 19, 1074, where the king of Hispania is urged that "vestram Romanam ecclesiam recognoscatis, in quo et nos fratres reperiatis; Romanę ecclesię ordinem et officium recognoscatis, in quo et non Toletanę vel cuiuslibet alię, sed istius, quę a PETRO et PAULO supra firmam petram per Christum fundata est sanguine consecrata, cui poarta inferni, id est linguę hereticorum numquam prevalere potuerunt, sicut cętera regna occidentis et septemtrionis teneatis". See also Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1126–1157* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 105, 111; Ramón Gonzálvez, "The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy in Toledo after AD. 1080," in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter*, ed. Bernard F. Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 157–186.

[272] On the spreading of the Roman rite and links of this process to the Cluniac Reforms and on hegemonial tendencies of some Christian rulers in the Iberian Peninsula, see Pierre David, "Grégoire VII, Cluny et Alphonse VI," in Pierre David, *Etudes historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIᵉ au XIIᵉ siècle*, Collection portugaise publiée sous le patronage de l'Institut Français au Portugal 7 (Lisbon: Livraria Potugália, 1947), 341–439; Charles Julian Bishko, "Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History II: Fernando I and the Origins of the

The above reasons speak against interpretations involving the expulsion of "Slavonic" priests during Svatopluk's reign. Priests were few and not even Svatopluk could afford to waste the resources he had at his disposal.[273] Moreover, the question of "Slavonic liturgy" was used rather as an excuse in the dispute between the factions of the Moravian church and any punishment would have likely affected only a handful of Methodius' closest followers.[274] The expulsion and crisis of the Great Moravian church are moreover only mentioned in sources striving to usurp the Great Moravian tradition; as such, they can only profit from emphasizing the Moravians' loss of rights to their own church.[275]

Though the Roman bishop's attempts at unifying the liturgy in the later stages of the Early Middle Ages cannot be disputed, the papacy only gained the sufficient force to institute such a program in the second half of the eleventh century, especially during the reign of Gregory VII (1073–1085).[276] Not only was the papacy unable to actively promote one liturgy, it was also incapable of suppressing other liturgical languages including, naturally, Old Church Slavonic. Whether or not the small tenth-century Bohemian church possessed the will to seek such approval may perhaps be argued about with some degree of success. Apparently the only trace of an endeavour to acquire official approval for the "Slavonic liturgy" in the tenth century is Cosmas' transcription of a letter to John XIII (965–972), wherein the pope agrees to the founding of the Prague episcopacy, insist-

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Leonese-Castilian Alliance With Cluny," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 48 (1969): 53–89; Ángel G. Gordo Molina, "Papado y monarquia en el reino de León: Las relaciones politico religiosas de Gregorio VII y Alfonso VI en el contexto del Imperium Legionense y de la implantacón de la reforma pontifical en la Peninsula Ibérica," *Studi Medievali* 49 (2008), 519–559; Juan P.R. Sadia, "La introducción del rito romano en la iglesia de Toledo: El papel de las Ordénes religiosas a través de las fuentes litúrgicas," *Toletana* 10 (2004), 151–177, esp. 151–162, on the manuscripts at 162–176.

[273] Cf. the exception in the documents of the Synod of Split of 925, quoted below, in n. 270, p. 229.

[274] Konzal pointed this out, and by right, see Konzal, "Církevněslovanská literatura," 156.

[275] On this tradition, cf. chapter II.3.

[276] The documents of the Synod of Split of 1060 are considerably more severe, Methodius is even called a heretic, see "Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum", edited by Olga Perić et al., Central European medieval texts 4 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006), 78–80: "... hoc firmatum est et statutum, ut nullus de caetero in lingua sclauonica praesumeret diuina mysteria celebrare, nisi tantum in latina et graeca; nec aliquis eisdem linguae promoueretur ad sacros ordines. Dicebant enim, gothicas litteras a quodam Methodio haeretico fuisse repertas, qui multa contra catholicae fidei normam in eadem sclauonica lingua mentiendo conscripsit; quam ob rem diuino iudicio repentina dicitur morte fuisse dampnatus". See also Waldmüller, *Die Synoden in Dalmatien*, 54–59.

ing that it make use of "the rite . . . of the Bulgarians or Russians, or the Slavonic language".[277]

Follow-up to this tentative attempt took place over one hundred years later, when Vratislav II (1061–1092) called on Gregory VII (1073–1085) for approval. The motives of his appeal are unfortunately unknown and Gregory's stern letter of rejection constitutes the only preserved document.[278] However, this ban cannot be regarded as a definite standpoint, suddenly affecting everyone performing the liturgy in Slavonic. It is perhaps worth remembering that the expulsion of the Sázava monks, often associated with the papal ban, only took place in the second half of the 1090s.

An anecdote, cited in the *World Chronicle of Frutolf of Michelsberg*, indicates that liturgy was not unimportant in the eleventh century, both in the eyes of Rome as well as the Archbishop of Mainz. Rather, it comprised a significant element contributing to the identity of clergy at the Archbishopric of Mainz. Minute variations of liturgy made it possible to differentiate—in very crude terms—between those adhering to the rite and all "others".[279] Documents from Leon speak in favour of such notions.

Remarks regarding the pragmatic aspects of liturgy in Slavonic also appear in the *Legenda Christiani*. The above mentioned examples are

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[277] *Cosmae Chronica* 1.22, 44: ". . . ritus aut sectam Bulgarie gentis vel Ruzie, aut Sclavonice lingue . . ." The mention of Russia is a late interpolation while Kievan Rus was baptised at the end of tenth century.

[278] *Registra Gregorii VII.*, vol. 2, edited by Erich Caspar, *MGH* EE 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), 7.11, 474–475 of January 2, 1080: "Quia vero nobilitas tua postulavit, quo secundum Sclavonicam linguam apud vos divinum celebrari anueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuę nequaquam posse favere. Ex hoc nempe sępe volventibus liquet non immerito sacram scripturam omnipotenti Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam, ne, si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret et subiaceret despectui aut prave intellecta a mediocribus in errorem inducere. Neque enim ad excusationem iuvat, quod quidam religiosi viri hoc, quod simpliciter populus querit patienter tulerunt seu incorrectum dimisserunt, cum primitiva ecclesia multa dissimulaverit, quę a sanctis patribus postmodum firmata christianitate et religione crescente subtili examinatione corecta sunt. Unde, ne id fiat, quod a vestris inprudenter exposcitur, auctoritate beati Petri inhibemus te que ad honorem omnipotentis Dei huic vane temeritati viribus totis resistere precipimus".

[279] On a possible importance of liturgical specifics with regard to formation of the Polish identity in the Middle Ages, see e.g. the inspirational study Roman Michałowski, "The Nine-Week Lent in Boleslav the Braves' Poland: A Study of the First Piasts' Religious Policy," *APH* 89 (2004): 5–50. A similar—i.e. integrative—role played e.g. litanies and prayers, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship*, with a Study of the Music of the Laudes and Musical Transcriptions by Manfred F. Bukofzer, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958); on the Czech environment, see comments in David Kalhous, "Sv. Václav Homiliáře opatovického: K české státnosti 12. věku," in *Querite primum regnum Dei: Sborník příspěvků k poctě Jany Nechutové*, edited by Helena Krmíčková, Anna Pumprová, Dana Růžičková, and Libor Švanda (Brno: Matice moravská, 2006), 357–365.

evidence of the fact that a potential papal ban on liturgy in Slavonic would most likely have been the result of a disorderly situation in the Great Moravian (or Bohemian) church. The papal *placet* would have played the role of legitimizing factor rather than that of an all-powerful decision. Moreover, the same message is implied in both the *Pannonian Legends* as well as the *Legenda Christiani*: all three texts consider the Pope's approval important, but all three also associate it with confirming existing practices, not with instituting new ones.[280] Problems lie elsewhere: the expulsion of Methodius' leading disciples meant that such priests and candidates for priesthood as would perhaps have wanted to celebrate the liturgy in Slavonic lacked the support of bishops, capable of ordaining new priests. Open persecution on a mass scale need not have occurred, animosities between clergy preferring Latin and Old Church Slavonic, respectively, were sufficient to tear asunder the liturgical tradition in an unforced way. It is essential to remember that the hypothetical episcopacy of Olomouc, where some manner of continuity could perhaps be expected, was founded in 900 by a Roman legate.[281]

However, is the postulate regarding the need for differentiating between liturgy, writing and literature correct? The most important evidence comes from a decree issued by Stephen V (885–891) which simultaneously bans Slavonic mass while permitting and recommending Slavonic writing and language.[282]

On the other hand, awareness of the connections between language, texts, rites and the status of the community in which they are embedded

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[280] On the similar situation in northern Gallia in the early Middle Ages, see Alberto Ferreiro, " 'Petrine primacy' and Gregory of Tours," *Francia* 33 (2006), 1–16, who puts the beginnings of papal efforts to exert influence over other regions to the eleventh century.

[281] Třeštík connects the introduction of the Slavonic rite into Bohemia with Bulgarian influence—with regard to a name which was uncommon in the Bohemian early medieval environment and to the "Bulgarian" echo in Christian's work, see Dušan Třeštík, "Slovanská liturgie a písemnictví v Čechách 10. století: Představy a skutečnost," *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a střední Evropa*, edited by Petr Sommer (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2006), 189–218. On the importance of Sázava, see above, pp. 223–227. A passage of *Повесть временных лем,* 48, proves contacts with the Bulgarians. This work contains a mention of Bohemian silver and other goods sold in Preslav.

[282] In the *Commonitorium*, published in *CDSl*, vol. 1, no. 36, 30, the Slavonic rite is forbidden. But on the other hand, the pope allows that "si aliquis Sclavorum lingua tam doctus invenitur, ut post sacratissimam evangelicam apostolicam lectionem explicationem doctus sit dicere et ad edificationem eorum, qui non intelligunt, et laudet, si fiat, et concedit et approbat". Stephen's letter, see ibid., no. 35, 27–29 was probably forged by Wiching, as Gerhard Laehr, "Das Schreiben Stephans V. an Sventopulk von Mähren," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 47 (1928): 159–173 convincingly proves.

is documented in discussions regarding "sacred languages", discussions which took place both in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. Irven Resnick points out the connection between the acknowledgement of Latin as a sacred language and the notion of Rome as playing a key role in the divine plan.[283] A similar—though unarticulated—concept of the relationship between liturgy and the language it is performed in could have formed the basis for those who—gathered at the Synod of Frankfurt—condemned all attempts at limiting liturgical languages to Hebrew, Greek and Latin.[284]

Great Moravian and Bohemian sources provide further evidence of the close relationship between writing, language and liturgy. Francis J. Thomson has again recently pointed out the emphasis which the opponents of Constantine and Methodius placed on their invention of a new script as well as their defense of the *Life of Constantine*. Selected extracts will only reinforce his conclusions. According to the legend-writer, Rastislav's envoys asked the emperor to send them a teacher capable of educating them in their mother tongue, thus contributing to expanding the ranks of Christians.[285] The emperor addressed Constantine, who conditioned his acceptance on the existence of books in the Slavonic language.[286] When the future saint discovered that there were none, he hesitated again, stressing the significance of books and writing for the spread and advancement of faith. The emperor and his advisor Bardas proceeded to console him, leaving him to seek divine inspiration and aid.[287] And behold—says the legend-writer—when Constantine retired to pray, God appeared to him and inspired him to create a script. Immediately afterwards, Constantine embarked on a translation of the holy writ, concludes the legend-writer.[288] Writing, literature and spreading the faith thus constitute a unity in the eyes of Constantine's biographer; the legitimacy of his endeavour is in

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[283] Irven M. Resnick, "Lingua Dei, Lingua Hominis: Sacred Languages and Medieval Texts," *Viator* 21 (1990): 51–74.

[284] *Concilium Franconofurtense a. 794*, in *Concilia aevi Karolini*, vol. 1.1. *MGH* LL Concilia II.1, edited by A. Werminghoff (Hahn: Hannover – Leipzig, 1906), chap. 52, 171: "Ut nullus credat, quod nonnisi in tribus linguis Deus orandus sit, quia in omni Lingua Deus adoratur et homo exauditur, si iusta petierit."

[285] *Žitije Konstantina*, chap. 14, 99: "…*людемъ нашимъ поганьства ся отвръгшимъ н по хрнстианескъ ся законъ држвшимъ, очтеля неимамъ таковаго, иже бы ны въ свои языкъ истоую вёроу христианскоую сказалъ…*"; Cf. Francis J. Thomson, "Cyril and Methodius and a Mythical Western Heresy: Trilinguism," Analecta Bollandiana 110 (1992), 67–122.

[286] *Žitije Konstantina*, chap. 14, 99: "…*и троуденъ тёломъ и боленъ, радъ идоу тамо, аже имоуть боукви* (*in different mss. also Книги*) *въ языкъ свои…*"

[287] Ibid., chap. 14, 100.

[288] Ibid., chap. 14, 100: "…*сложи писмена и нача бесёдоу писти еуаггельскоую…*"

turn sanctioned by God. Also the author of the *Legenda Christiani* mentions the invention of the script, the translation of the holy writ into Slavonic, and the establishing of a "Slavonic" liturgy and instituting the Book of Hours in one paragraph.[289]

Links between language, script and liturgy were therefore significant throughout the Middle Ages and whether this complex notion was accepted as such or whether no more than one of the exclusive aspects became suppressed, e.g. the liturgy, depended entirely on the prevailing circumstances. Discussing liturgy, writing, and literature as two entirely distinct phenomena, as attempted by František Graus as well as Radoslav Večerka, is thus not completely correct and is only justifiable in situations where medieval literature is perceived as an autonomous aspect of culture, which, however, is another fallacy. Our conclusions may be regarded as exhibiting a great degree of probability, especially as there is no known evidence of attacks on the liturgy itself; it is the language aspect which forms the sole bone of contention.[290]

However, the hypothetical functioning of multiple liturgies in the Prague and Olomouc episcopacies in the Early Middle Ages does not necessarily correspond fully to this notion, as it presupposes integration of the Přemyslid dominion to a far lesser extent than contemporary Czech historiography. A scenario with one (or two) liturgies, needless to say performed in two languages, is somewhat more likely.

Although it is already known that various liturgies, performed in various languages, could easily have survived on the fringes of the Christian world, it is not entirely clear which liturgy was utilized by the Great Moravian and—eventually—Bohemian church. A hypothesis presented by Josef Vašica, postulating the existence of a specific Great Moravian liturgy of St. Peter, an alleged Old Church Slavonic translation of a Greek translation of the Roman liturgy with Byzantine addenda, had—in its day—received widespread recognition.[291] Even František V. Mareš had originally

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[289] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 12: "Missas preterea ceterasque canonicas horas in ecclesia publica voce resonare statuit, quod et usque hodie in partibus Sclavorum a pluribus agitur, maxime in Bulgariis, multeque ex hoc anime Christo domino acquiruntur."; ibid., 14: "Si enim quivissem ullomodo subvenire populo illi, ut ceteris nacionibus, lingua Latina vel Greca, omnimodo id non presumpsissem. Sed cernens populum dure cervicis fore et omnino ydiotas et ignaros viarum Dei, solum hoc ingenium Omnipotente cordi meo inspirante comperi, per quod eciam multos illi acquisivi".

[290] On the characteristics of this rite from a liturgical perspective, see above, pp. 234–236.

[291] Josef Vašica, "Slovanská liturgie sv. Petra," *Byzantinoslavica* 8 (1939–1946): 1–54. Cf. Vojtěch Tkadlčík, "Byzantský a římský ritus ve slovanské bohoslužbě," *Duchovní pastýř* 27, no. 1 (1978): 4–10.

subscribed to Vašica's hypothesis;[292] however, when he eventually aban-
doned it, progressive scholarship followed his example. Recently, Antonij
J. Sluckij—chiefly under the influence of the preserved manuscript—has
inclined to the alternative concept of the liturgy emerging in the four-
teenth century at the Athos Monastery.[293]

On the other hand, similarities between the sixth or seventh century
Missal of Padua and the Old Church Slavonic *Kiev Missal*,[294] both resem-
bling in appearance a sacramentary from Gregory the Great's time,[295]
present an argument in favour of the Roman origin of the "Slavonic" liturgy.
According to Josef Vajs, the Illirico III.4—a Croatian manuscript from the
High Middle Ages with several features in common with the *Kiev Missal*—
constitutes another possible semblance of the Canon of the Mass.[296]

A description of Wenceslas' haircutting in Vostokov variant of the *First
Life of St. Wenceslas* has been pointed out as evidence of the use of East-
ern liturgy.[297] However, said passages were most likely interpolated into
the text in Kievan Rus, as the rite itself had probably been performed by

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[292] František V. Mareš, "Slovanská liturgie sv. Petra," in František V. Mareš,
Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika (Prague: Torst, 2000), 166–187.

[293] Antonij J. Sluckij, "New Evidence of the Slavonic Liturgy of St. Peter," *Byzantino-
slavica* 56 (1995): 601–604.

[294] On this source from the linguistical perspective, see below, n. 994–995. Kølln, "Ke
vzniku Kyjevských listů," 119–120 argues in favour of its Bohemian origin, since, according
to him, at the Cyrillo-Methodian times the Byzantine liturgy was used.

[295] Leo Kunibert Mohlberg, *Il messale Glagolitico di Kiew (sec. IX) ed il suo prototipo
Romano del sec. VI–VII*, Memorie della Pontificia accademia Romana di Archeologia
(Rome: Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia, 1928). I became familiar with this
work by means of the review Miloš Wiengarta in *ČMM* 53 (1929): 239–242. Cf. also Josef
Vašica, "Slovanská liturgie nově osvětlená Kijevskými listy," *Slovo a slovesnost* 6 (1940),
65–77. Most recently, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 92–97. Further fragments are from Salz-
burg, Reichenau and Monte Cassino.

[296] Josef Vajs, "Kánon charvatsko-hlaholského vatikánského misálu III. 4: Protějšek
hlaholských listů Kijevských," *Časopis pro moderní filologii* 25 (1939), 113–134; Josef Vajs,
"Mešní řád charvátsko-hlaholského misálu III. 4 a jeho poměr k moravsko-pannonskemu
sakramentáři stol. IX," *Acta Academiae Velehradensis* 15 (1939), 89–141. More recently Ladis-
lav Pokorný, "Liturgie pěje slovansky," in *Soluňští bratři: 1100 let od příchodu sv. Cyrila a
Metoděje na Moravu*, edited by Václav Bartůněk (Prague: Ústřední církevní nakladatelství,
1963), 158–191; VladimírVavřínek, "The Introduction of the Slavonic Liturgy and the Byz-
antine Missionary Policy," in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert*,
edited by Vladimír Vavřínek (Prague: ČSAV, Kabinet pro studia řecká, římská a latin-
ská, 1978), 255–281; Antonín J. Novák, "Cyrilometodějský ritus," in *Jubilejní sborník k 1100.
výročí smrti sv. Metoděje, arcibiskupa Velké Moravy*, edited by Pavel Aleš (Prague: Ústřední
církevní nakladatelství, 1985), 139–161; Alexander Avenarius, "Das liturgische Werk Kon-
stantins und Methods," in *Central Europe in 8th–tenth Centuries*, edited by Dušan Čaplo-
vič and Ján Doruľa (Bratislava: Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic 1997), 156–162;
Sommer, *Svatý Prokop*, 95–102.

[297] Josef Frček, "Byl sv. Václav postřižen podle ritu východního či západního?" in *Slo-
vanské studie: Sborník statí, věnovaných prelátu univ. prof. dr. Josefu Vajsovi k uctění jeho*

Bishop Notker from Verona.[298] Only the *Prague Fragments* provide more substantial evidence.

The existence of liturgical manuscripts, i.e. manuscripts with a predominantly practical function, indicates that performing the liturgy in the vernacular had a certain pragmatic dimension, far from being simply a curiosity of only marginal interest to society. Even the author of the *Legenda Christiani* assigns the liturgy a certain useful value, claiming that mass and the "Book of Hours" performed in Slavonic are tools capable of attracting new believers.[299]

Apart from evidence documenting the existence of the liturgy in Old Church Slavonic, several sources also indicate the interest in securing approval for this liturgy. Our attention should be directed towards the fact that attempts at legitimizing the Slavonic liturgy were always associated with figures striving to strengthen local church organisation as well as vying to enhance their own power. An understandable interest in missionary activity among the Slavs living within the borders of his episcopacy must be added to the above in the case of St. Adalbert, apparent between the lines of both the Legends of St. Adalbert as well as the *Legenda Christiani* itself. The *Legenda Christiani*—indispensable for the interpretation of attempts at legitimizing the "Slavonic" liturgy—moreover associates attention devoted to the "Slavonic" liturgy with endeavours aimed at establishing continuity between Great Moravia and Přemyslid Bohemia.[300] Liturgy is thus perceived throughout the document as an aspect of the Constantine and Methodius mission. Interest in the issues surrounding

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životního díla, edited by Josef Kurz, Matyáš Murko, and Josef Vašica (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1948), 144–158.

[298] Tkadlčík, "Kdo udělil postřižiny," 209–212; Třeštík, "Václav a Berengar."

[299] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 12: "Missas preterea ceterasque canonicas horas in ecclesia publica voce resonare statuit, quod et usque hodie in partibus Sclavorum a pluribus agitur, maxime in Bulgariis, multeque ex hoc anime Christo domino acquiruntur."; ibid., chap. 1, 14: "Si enim quivissem ullomodo subvenire populo illi, ut ceteris nacionibus, lingua Latina vel Greca, omnimodo id non presumpsissem. Sed cernens populum dure cervicis fore et omnino ydiotas et ignaros viarum Dei, solum hoc ingenium Omnipotente cordi meo inspirante comperi, per quod eciam multos illi acquisivi."; Cf. chapter II.2.It is not easy to explain the apparent discrepancy between the efforts to connect St Adalbert with interest in the Great Moravian tradition and the Archbishopric of Cyril and Methodius on the one hand, and clear attempts to link him to a manuscript containing Stephen V's letter (CDSl, vol. 1, no. 35, 27–29) which forbids the Slavonic rite on the other. The aforementioned sources were connected with St Adalbert in Dušan Třeštík and Jana Zachová, "Adhortace De ammonicione ad presbyteros a biskup Vojtěch," ČČH 99 (2001): 279–293, at 283–284.

[300] Cf. above, chapter II. 3.

it may therefore be understood as evidence of certain missionary endeavours as well as a form of subscribing to the Great Moravian tradition. The tradition is naturally multi-faceted. However, it may be perceived as a very relevant argument in favour of restoring the Great Moravian church organisation or of its transfer to Bohemia. It is this very notion which may have captured the attention of Prince Vratislav.

The hypothesis simultaneously urges us to draw the line not between Slavonic literature and liturgy, but instead between the function of an "Old Church Slavonic" liturgy as an attribute of a specific tradition with a marked political dimension and its role in the daily life of the early Bohemian church.

5. *Christian and St. Wenceslaus*

The life of St. Wenceslaus († 935) is described primarily in legends. Indeed, St. Wenceslaus must have been very much a "live saint"—it would otherwise be difficult to explain the existence of six legends—two in multiple versions—emerging as early as in the first half of the eleventh century. However, any notions assuming that the original, "true" image of St. Wenceslaus was lost in a maze of legends and deformed by literary sediment to the point of completely obliterating the saint's personality are not entirely correct: they proceeds from an assumed fixed and unified image of the past. The following text will not focus on reconstructing the "historical" St. Wenceslaus; instead, it will confront the various portraits of the holy prince (and his times) as presented in the oldest of legends. An analysis of the minute differences between the individual versions will enhance our understanding of Christian and his times.

An initial comparative study of the oldest legends will enable us to differentiate between the archetypal components in Christian's image of St. Wenceslaus and, on the other hand, elements the author himself introduced into the basic framework of the holy ruler's life.[301] The narratives in

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[301] The legends of the holy rulers were widespread especially in the Anglo-Saxon environment. On the genesis and transformations of the "holy rulers" from the beginnings of the early Middle Ages, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 62–114. For the classification ofthese saints, related sources and efforts to instrumentalise them, see David W. Rollason, "The Cults of Murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983): 1–22. For a more comprehensive view, see Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought 4.9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

question include sources—*Gumpold's Legend* and *Crescente fide*—as well
as two legends which emerged contemporaneously with Christian's work,
i.e. the *First Life of St. Wenceslaus* and the legend of Lawrence of Amalfi.
A detailed analysis of the various depictions of St. Wenceslaus in the
works of individual legend-writers and a subsequent comparative study
comprise a requirement essential for an accurate portrayal of Christian's
own image of the saint.

The oldest preserved link in the chain of St. Wenceslaus tradition is
presented by *Crescente fide*. There are two existing versions: the older
"Bavarian" version comes from the late tenth century[302] while the newer
"Bohemian" version dates to the eleventh century.[303] Their early medieval
origin is indisputable thanks to the preserved manuscripts.[304] The legend
had long been considered a shortened version of the *Gumpold's Legend*.[305]
However, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský successfully proved that the *Crescente fide*
in fact served as a model for Gumpold.[306] His assertion was based primarily
on the fact that the very same citations from other sources (e.g. the *Vita
Haimrami*) found in the *Crescente* are in better shape than those found in
Gumpold's Legend. As the origin of *Gumpold's Legend* may be unequivo-
cally dated to 974–983[307] according to the pontificate of Gumpold, bishop

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[302] *Passio s. Vencezlai incipiens verbis Crescente fide christiana: Recensio bavarica*, edited
by Josef Emler, *FRB* 1 (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1873), 183–190.

[303] *Passio s. Vencezlai incipiens verbis Crescente fide christiana: Recensio bohemica*, in
Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Nově zjištěný rukopis legendy *Crescente fide* a jeho význam pro
datování Kristiána," *LF* 81 (1958): 58–63.

[304] The earliest manuscript CLM 4605 dates from the eleventh century, at the latest, see
Glauche, *Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuren*, 181–182. The author of this book
plans to research further the extant manuscripts of the earliest St Wenceslaus legends.

[305] See already Josef Dobrovský, *Wenzel und Boleslaw*: *Die ältesten Legende vom h. Wen-
zel, als Probe, wie die alte Legenden für die Geschichte benützen soll*. Kritische Versuche die
ältere böhmische Geschichte von späteren Erdichtungen zu reinigen 3 = Abh. d. kgl. Böhm.
Ges. d. Wiss. (Prague, 1819), 20–21.

[306] Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Crescete fide, Gumpold a Kristián: Příspěvek k datován
Legendy Kristiánovy," *SPFFBU* D 1 (1955): 48–66. The evidence presented in this study has
been confirmed by Dušan Třeštík, who adds further arguments. The author of *Crescente*
was inspired especially by *Arbeonis episcopi Frisingensis Vita vel passio sancti Haimhrammi
martyris,* edited by Bruno Krusch, *MGH* SRG 13 (Hannover: Hahn, 1920), 1–99. Třeštík points
out that the majority of the quotations of this legend are better preserved in *Crescente*
than in Gumpold's work, most recently see Třeštík (1981), *Počátky Přemyslovců*, 46–56. For
the proof of the link between the *Crescente fide* and *Vita Haimhrammi*, see Josef Staber,
"Die älteste Lebensbeschereibung des Fürsten Wenzeslaus," 185–188.

[307] *Gumpoldi Mantuani episcopi Passio Vencezlai martyris: Prologus*, edited by Josef
Emler, FRB 1 (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1873), 147: "... victoriosissimi impera-
toris augusti Ottonis secundi sacro jussu..."; For the attribution of this work to an other-
wise unknown Bishop of Mantua, see Georg H. Pertz, "Die Italienische Reise," *Archiv der
Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 5 (1824): 136. Most recently on its style,

of Mantua, we may safely assume—on the basis of previously presented evidence—that *Crescente fide* emerged prior to the year 983.[308] *Gumpold's Legend* was subsequently translated into Old Church Slavonic during the eleventh century by an anonymous monk and is thus referred to as the *Second Life of St. Wenceslaus*.[309]

The *First Life of St. Wenceslas* occupies a somewhat unstable position among legends of St. Wenceslaus; according to both Slavists and historians, the legend appears to have been written in the tenth century.[310] The discovery of a link between this text and the eleventh century legend composed by Lawrence,[311] associated with the southern Italian monastery of Monte Cassino, initially came as a surprise.[312]

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see Jan Kalivoda, "Semper laus eius in ore meo," in *In laudem aut vituperationem: Zur panegyrischen Literatur von der Antike bis zur Barockzeit*, AUC Phil. et Hist., Graecolatina pragensia 19 (Prague: Karolinum, 2004), 73–83. Most recently on its "programmatic" goals, see Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Gumpold, Vavřinec a Kristián, čili krátce o tom, jak se sněžná a severní Bohemia stávala součástí 'požehnané' Evropy," in *Dějiny ve věku nejistot: Sborník k příležitosti 70. narozenin Dušana Třeštíka*, edited by Jan Klápště, Eva Plešková, and Josef Žemlička (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2003), 47–52. Critically on the conclusions of this study, **see below.** The authenticity of this legend is guaranteed by the extant manuscipts—the earliest, Wolfenbüttel manuscript originates from the early eleventh century and was written at the behest of Queen Emma, probably a Lotharigian Duchess and the second wife of Boleslav II (972–999), cf. Dušan Třeštík, "Ještě ke královně Emmě: Wolffenbüttelský rukopis Gumpoldovy legendy a druhý život královny Matyldy," in *Od knížat ke králům: Sborník ku příležitosti 60. narozenin Josefa Žemličky*, edited by Eva Doležalová and Robert Šimůnek (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2007), 23–37.

[308] An early date of its genesis is also backed by the earliest manuscript, which was not written later than in the eleventh century.

[309] *Druhá staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu*, edited by Josef Vašica, in *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Lidmile*, edited by Josef Vajs (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1929), 84–124. On its dating, see Třeštík (1981), *Počátky Přemyslovců*, 46, n. 9. This work originates approximately from the 1030s–1040s, probably from the Sázava Monastery. The ambicious translator made efforts to revise the text of his model, *Gumpold's Legend*. However, he also employed the *Crescente fide* and other, at the present time unknown sources, see *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek*, 75–76.

[310] *První staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu: Charvátohlaholská redakce*, 36–43. (If not stated otherwise, it is this redaction that is quoted in the further text.) See also Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda"; Oldřich Králík, "K historii textu I. staroslověnské legendy," 434–452; see also above, pp. 213–216.

[311] On the link between the two works, see already Hanka, "Petrohradská Legenda," 453–454.

[312] *Laurentii Passio sancti Wenzeslai regis*, edited by Francis Newton, *MGH*, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 7, 2nd ed. (Munich: *MGH*, 1991), 23–42. This legend was discovered by Pertz, "Die Italienische Reise," 137–142. See also Dušan Třeštík, "Miszellanea zu den St. Wenzelslegenden II: Laurentius aus Monte Cassino und Laurentius aus Amalfi," *Mediaevalia Bohemica* 1 (1969): 73–92; Dušan Třeštík, "Diskuse k předloze václavské legendy Laurentia z Monte Cassina," *LF* 107 (1984): 85–89; Josef Veselský, "Diskuse k tajemstvím Laurentiovy legendy. Pribislawa, avae nomine Pribisl, mulier aevi plena," *LF* 107 (1984): 77–84. Oldřich Králík, *Kosmova kronika a předchozí tradice*. Prague: Vyšehrad,

The image of the holy prince in the doubtlessly old *Crescente fide* (c. 970) has already been analysed.[313] However, the depiction of the martyr had only been perceived as a mere transposition of the monastic ideal onto the figure of the ruler.[314] Despite mentioning elements referring to the ideal of the ruler, Dušan Třeštík likewise concluded that the Wenceslaus depicted in *Crescente fide* is "little more than a monk in the guise of a monarch".[315] The same approach is apparent in Gabor Klaniczay's comprehensive monograph on holy rulers: according to him, the anonymous author of the *Crescente fide* depicted St. Wenceslaus as a hermit whose notions of accomplishing religious ideals have completely overridden his duties as a ruler.[316] Gabor Klaniczay greatly emphasizes a men-

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1976, 56–63 dates the legend to the late tenth century. He argues that the sermon *Licet plura* was connected with the feast of the Translation of St. Wenceslaus relics. The author claims that this feast was established under St Adalbert on the basis of Laurentius's mention that it was Adalbert who translated the relics. The dating of the sermon *Licet plura* to St Adalbert's time—on the grounds of the author of the sermon's assertion that eyewitnesses were his direct spurces—has already been proposed in Voigt, *Der Sermon von der Uebertragung*, 2–7. Nevertheless, Ludvíkovský rightly points out that this assertion also appears in later lagends and is a *topos*, which cannot be seriously taken into consideration in this regard. Ludvíkovský, "Latinské legendy," 283. For the rejection of tenth-century origins of this legend, considering the fact that St Adalbert is referred to as saint confessor, see Vacek, "Úvahy a posudky o literatuře svatováclavské," 89–96.

[313] Most recently, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 102–108. See also Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 185–189. Generally, see František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger*; Robert Folz, "Zur Frage der heiligen Könige: Heiligkeit und Nachleben in der Geschichte des burgundischen Königtums," DA 14 (1958): 317–344; Patrick Corbet, *Les Saints Ottoniens: Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an Mil*, Beihefte der Francia 15 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986) (I did not have this study at my disposal.); Dušan Třeštík, "Kníže Václav nebo svatý Václav?" ČsČH 36 (1988): 238–247; Anne C. Stinehart, " 'Renowned Queen Mother Mathilda': Ideals and Realities of Ottonian Queenship in the Vitae Mathildis reginae (Mathilda of Saxony, 895?–968)," Essays in History, Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia 40, 1998, http://etext .lib.virginia.edu/journals/EH/EH40/steinh40.html; Bernd Schütte, *Untersuchungen zu den Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*, *MGH* Studien und Texte 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1994).

[314] E.g. Josef Kalousek, *Obrana knížete Václava Svatého proti smyšlenkám a křivým úsudkům o jeho povaze*. Prague: Theodor Mourek, 1872, 14–20. The author regarded the *Gumpold's Legend* as the model for *Crescente*. More recently, see František M. Bartoš, *Kníže Václav Svatý v dějinách a legendě* (Prague: Čin, 1929), 17–18; Konzal, "První staroslověnská legenda," 123.

[315] Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 185–187, the quotation at 187.

[316] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 105: "The *Crescente fide*, unsurpassed as it is as a portrait of the medieval paragon who totally subordinates his princely authority to his religious ideals, nevertheless contains some germs of the new trend, the attempt to reconcile the exercise of royal power with sanctity . . ." Cf. ibid., 103: ". . . only connection between Wenceslas's religion and Wenceslas's duties as king was that to stay to the formel, he radically turned his back on the latter."

tion of Wenceslaus' reluctance to participate in trials dealing with capital punishment, associating himself with the biblical "judge not, that you may not be judged"[317] as well as stressing Wenceslaus' martyrdom, which states that although he could have easily overcome his adversaries, he wished to remain untainted.[318] He also points out passages describing how Wenceslaus prepared sacramental wine as well as alluding to his fasting—potential evidence of an attempt at depicting his efforts at adopting the guise of a priest-shepherd leading his people to salvation.[319] However, like Dušan Třeštík, he does not fail to mention passages characterizing St. Wenceslaus as an ideal ruler.[320]

Both Dušan Třeštík and Gabor Klaniczay consider the contrastive analysis of *Crescente fide* (c. 970) and *Gumpold's Legend* (974–983) a key element. On comparing the two texts, Dušan Třeštík arrived at the conclusion that Gumpold had placed less emphasis on Wenceslaus' asceticism in favour of his responsibility as a ruler.[321] Meanwhile, Gabor Klaniczay pointed out a certain transformation of Wenceslaus in *Gumpold's Legend* (974–983): the conflict between his secular and religious roles allegedly forms the basic axis of the entire narrative, reaching a triumphant climax with Wenceslaus' martyrdom.[322]

Both Dušan Třeštík and Gabor Klaniczay point out the limited legendary stylization of the figure of the prince in the *First Life of St. Wenceslas* (960s), foregrounding the "political dimensions" of the text: while Dušan Klaniczay considers the narrative first and foremost as comprising "the history of an assassination",[323] Dušan Třeštík sees it as a "cautionary tale of the uprising of Bohemian men against their prince".[324]

There is, of course no doubt, that when the author of *Crescente fide* (970s) characterizes Wenceslaus as an ideal ruler, he has in mind one who is wise, truthful, just in court,[325] a protector of widows, orphans and the weak, generous in handing out alms, one who takes good care of his

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[317] Ibid., 103.

[318] Ibid., 103.

[319] Ibid., 104.

[320] Ibid., 105–106. Cf. Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 185.

[321] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 186–187.

[322] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 107–108. Similarly Wood, *Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe*, 196–197, who regards the *Gumpold's Legend* as a kind of the mirror for princes.

[323] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 102–103.

[324] Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 185.

[325] See above, n. 339.

retinue[326] as well as of guests and foreigners.[327] As a devout Christian and prince, he had always resisted the pagan anachronisms[328] which he—on achieving adulthood—went on to engage actively, appointing new priests from Bavaria and Swabia and punishing those who had strayed away from the true faith to indulge in sin, especially drunkenness.[329] The fundamental image was subsequently elaborated on further: the author characterized him as a warrior in the name of true faith and a supporter of the clergy and of churches.[330] According to the author of *Crescente fide* (970s), Wenc-

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[326] On magnates as retinue leaders in Carolingian literature, see Reuter, "Plunder and Tribute," 82–84, on the basis of *Paschasii Radberti Epitaphium Arsenii*, edited by Ernst Dümmler, Abh. der Preussischen A. d. W. Phil.-Hist., Cl. 2 (Berlin: Berliner Akademie, 1900), 83; "Hincmari Remensis Expositiones ad Carolum regem", *PL* 125, cols. 1035–1068, at 1050D–1051A: "De beneficio militiae quasi de stipendiis et roga, quae antea, sicut hodieque fit alibi, dabantur militibus de publico, et aucta fidelium devotione apud nostrates, beneficia de rebus ecclesiasticis, quae sunt vota fidelium, pretia peccatorum, patrimonia pauperum, alimoniae Domini servorum et ancillarum, cum aliis exeniis obsecutoribus principis dispensandis, causa suae defensionis, regi ac reipublicae vectigalia quae nobis annua dona vocantur, praestat Ecclesia, servans quod jubet Apostolus: Cui honorem, honorem; cui vectigal, vectigal (Rom. XIII): subauditur, praestate regi ac defensoribus vestris. Qui ergo stipendia Ecclesiae, cujuscunque sint ordinis, loci, vel dignitatis accipiunt, si pro illius salute, ac quietis honore atque defensione, sollicite et pro viribus non laborant, indigne, quin et judicium illa sibi usurpant".

[327] *Crescente fide*, chap. 2, 183–184: "Orphanorum fuit misericors, et pater gementium et viduarum, sauciatorumque consolator: esaurientes alenssitiensibusque potum ministrans, et de vestimentis suis nudos regens; infirmos visitans, mortuos sepeliens, hospites et peregrinos ut proprios proximos libenter recipiebat, presbyteris et clericis honorabiliter ministrans errantibus viam veritatis ostendebat. Insuper etiam humilitatem, patientiam, mansuetudinem, potissimumque caritatem observabat; per vim atque fraudem nulli hominum aliquid abstulit, exercitumque suum non solum armis induebat sed etiam optimis vestimentis."; Cf. *Venantii Vita s. Radegundis*, chap. 4, 366: "Adhuc animum tendens ad opus misericordiae, Adteias domum instruit, quo, lectis culte conpositis, congregatis egenis feminin, ipsa eas lavans in termis morborumque curans putredines, virorum capita diluens, ministerium faciens, quos ante lavarat,eosdem sua manu miscebat, ut fessos de sudore sumpta potio recantaret. Sic levota femina nata et nupta regina, palatii domina pauperibus serviebat ancilla."; Cf. also the account of the peace under St. Edwin in *Bedae Venerabilis Historia ecclesiastica Anglorum*, edited by Charles Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), 118.

[328] *Crescente fide*, chap. 4, 185: "Et ab illa die nimiis increpabant minis beatissimo Vendezlao optantes, ut resipisceretur a doctrina et custodiebant eum. Ipse autem iugiter occulens libellum parvum sub tegmine suo gestabat, et ubicunque inveniebat locum, cum diligentia recitabat et gemens graviter nimis doluit cordis illorum cecitatem. Denique cum hi omnes predicti malivoli irent ad immolandum demoniis agnos atque porcellos, ut ederent ex his nefandissimis hostiis, ipse autem oportunitatem querens, substraxit se ab eis et numquam contaminatus fuit in escis eorum. Itaque et potum, quod ei propinabant, nunquam gustavit".

[329] Ibid., chap. 5, 185: "Blandum habebat contra milites eloquium, quos autem sciebat inmites et vagantes sine causa vel in tabernis bibentes et a doctrina recedentes, statim illos mensae pronos alligans districtae flagris verberabat".

[330] See n. 327.

eslaus' virtue and excellence as a Christian ruler allegedly comprised the source of divine mercy which allowed him to triumph in battle.[331] In the end, in keeping with traditions established by his forebears, Wenceslaus decided to erect a new church in honour of St. Vitus; in order to do so, he dispatched a legation to "Bishop Tuto, most devout in all Regensburg" asking for permission to build the cathedral.[332]

Several passages in the *Crescente fide* (c. 970) comprise evidence for the notion of Wenceslaus positioning himself as a monk: his alleged desire to enter a monastery as well as the horsehair cassock,[333] which he has taken to wearing under his over garments, and nights spent preparing sacramental wine with the aid of a faithful servant.[334] According to the author of the *Crescente fide* (c. 970), Wenceslaus' neglect of his ruling duties resulted in noblemen complaining about him "being spoiled by the priests like a monk".[335] At the same time, he was allegedly in hopes of making a pilgrimage to Rome and entering a monastery. However, in this he was dissuaded by his desire to successfully conclude unfinished labour.[336] His wish to remain a Christian ruler also formed one of the reasons for his falling into the hands of his brother's henchmen, ultimately securing the

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[331] Ibid., chap. 5, 185–186: "Poterat namque imitator fore psalmiste, qui in Spiritu dixit: Super omnes docentes me intellexi, quia testimonia tua meditatio mea est. In cuius etiam mente sola preciose margarite claritas fulgebat. Cuique Dominus tantam gratiam conferre dignatus est, ut et in preliis victor extitit".

[332] Ibid., chap. 6, 186. The motif of the construction of St Vitus and its relation to Regensburg is very conspicuous here.

[333] See above, n. 345.

[334] According to the earlier views, the fact that St Wenceslaus regularly listened to the readings from the Scripture is consonant with this monastic dimension of his portrayal and related to the reform tendencies in the place of the creation of the legend, that is, in Regensburg under Abbot Ramwold.

[335] *Crescente fide*, chap. 3, 185: "... quid facimus, quia princeps debeat esse, perverusus est a clericis, et est monachus ..."

[336] Ibid., chap. 6, 186: "In tempore autem ilo voluit ire Romam, ut papa eum indueret vestibus monasticis, et pro Dei amore relinquere voluit principatum et dare illud fratri suo. Sed non potuit propter ecclesiam praenominatam, quia nondum perfecta esset."; The motif probably comes from *Vita Haimrammi*, red. A, chap. 8, 38. On its role in Arbeo's work, see Josef Semmler, "Per Iussorium Gloriosi Principis Childerici Regis," MIÖG 107 (1999): 12–49, at 47. The author believes that Emmeram in Rome made efforts to officially specify his position in Christianised Bavaria. Then, however, the question is what was the sense of this motif in Crescente. Tomek considers that Wenceslaus might have intended to establish the bishopric, which might have been the main puropse of his planned journey to Rome, see Václav V. Tomek, *Apologieder ältesten Geschichte Böhmens gegen die neueren Anfechter desselben* (Prague: Václav Vladivoj Tomek, 1863), 73. But Třeštík shows that the motif under discussion is a mere topos, common in the legends of holy rulers, see Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 535–935*, 258–259. Besides, this topic also appears in Episcopal legends, such as in Sulpicius's legend of St. Martin.

palm of martyrdom.[337] Moreover, the author of the *Crescente fide* likewise notes that though Wenceslaus would have been able to easily overcome his adversaries, he chose to remain untainted.[338] These sections seem to comprise clear-cut evidence of attempts at depicting Wenceslaus as an ascetic. However, not all testimonies associated with supporting this particular interpretation agree.

Interpretations of Wenceslaus' alleged reluctance to participate in trials dealing out capital punishment as well as his attempts at destroying prisons and gallows are in themselves rather problematic.[339] A similar (though not identical) motif is to be found in the nearly contemporary *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior* (c. 974): the queen does not appear in person, acting instead as a mighty intercessor with her husband the king, curbing his anger and thus also influencing his judicial decisions.[340] A more fitting parallel is to be found in Thegan's *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris* (c. 836–837s).[341] The chapter details the crushing of an uprising led by King Bernard, Louis' relative; the passage aims to lessen Louis' role in provoking Bernard's uprising as well as demonstrating his mercifulness. In spite of—or perhaps due to—this, the motif of the ruler opposed to carrying out a death sentence is worth noting, as it casts some doubt on its ascetic aspect. On the basis of earlier Thegan's work and the later *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior*, it is quite conceivable to link this motive to Wenceslaus the ruler as well: not only is a good monarch just, he must also be merciful.[342]

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[337] The translation and miracles are not important in the context of this book. Only the account of the killing of the families of St Wenceslaus' faithful, which resembles the Massacre of the Innocents, is worth mentioning here, see *Crescente fide*, edited by Ludvíkovský,chap. 9, 61.

[338] *Crescente fide*, chap. 8, 187: "Tunc beatus Vendezlaus facile potuit superare eum, quia gladium abstulit de manu eius, sed non voluit semetipsum polluere".

[339] Ibid., chap. 2, 183–184: "Et cum iudices illius aliquem condempnare voluerunt ad mortem, statim ille occasionem faciens exiebat foras, memorans hoc quod dicitur in euangelio: Nolite condempnare et non condempnamini."; ibid., chap. 2, 183–184: "Carceres quoque destruxit et omnia patibula succidit".

[340] *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior*, edited by Bernd Schütte, *MGH* SRG 66 (Hannover: Hahn, 1994), chap. 3, 118: "Si quis pro culpa criminali, ut assolet, adductus ad tribunal a rege deputabatur interfici, sanctissima regina cruciato condolens blandimentis usque adeo mulcebat animum principis, donec in ipsa ira regis, unde processerat sors mortis, inde procederer vox salutationis."; Conf. *Venantii Fortunati Vita s. Radegundis*, edited by Bruno Krusch, *MGH* SRM 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), chap. 10, 365–377, 368.

[341] *Thegani Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, edited by Ernst Tremp, *MGH* SRG 64 (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), chap. 22, 212: "Illud iudicium mortale, quod caeteris factum fuerat, imperator exercere noluit . . ."

[342] A certain parallel also appears in Church legislation—priests are forbidden to participate in capital crime trials, see e.g. *Concilium Autisiodorense (573–603)* in *Concilia aevi Merowingici*, edited by Friedrich Maassen, *MGH* LL, Concilia 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1893), chap. 34, 182: "Non licet presytero in iudicio sedere, unde homo ad mortem tradatur . . ."

This tendency is mirrored in the miraculous releasing of prisoners attributed to Wenceslaus by the author of the *Crescente fide*.[343]

The legend-writer furthermore asserts that Wenceslaus kept to a strict religious code,[344] visiting individual castle churches on foot, wearing a horsehair cassock and—with the help of a faithful servant—preparing sacramental wine by night.[345] The author of the *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior* (1003) describes his heroine in similar terms, apparently inspired by *The Life of the Holy Radegund* (590s) by Venantius Fortunatus.[346] In spite of

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[343] *Crescente fide*, chap. 11, 188–189. This motif already appears in Merovingian legends. Most recently, see Anette Wiesheu, "Bischof und Gefängnis: Zur Interpretation der Kerkerbefreiungswunder in der merowingischen Hagiographie," *HJb* 121 (2001): 1–23, and Stephan Esders, "Rechtsdenken und Traditionsbewusstsein in der gallischen Kirche zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter: Zur Anwendbarkeit soziologischer Rechtsbegriffe am Beispiel der kirchlichen Asylrechts im 6. Jh.," *Francia* 20 (1993): 97–125. The authors point out the social dimension of this miracle (and also right of asylum) in 6th-century Merovingian legends (and society)—it strengthened the Bishop's role of an intercessor and protector. This may also hold true of *Crescente*. Moreover, St Wenceslaus might be presented as a significant representative of the law and a consensus-maker by means of his mercy. See also František Graus, "Die Gewalt bei den Anfängen des Feudalismus und die 'Gefangenbefreiungen' der merowingischen Hagiographie," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1961): 61–156, who points out the potential "folklore" characteristics of this miracle.

[344] *Crescente fide*, chap. 2, 183: "... permanens in principatu minime discessit a disciplina...; Cf. Venantii Vita s. Radegundis", chap. 3, 366: "Nubit ergo terreno principi, nec tamen separata caelesti, ac, dum sibi accessisset, magis quam permitteret dignitas, se plus inclinavit voluntas. Subdita semper Deo, sectans monita saceuam sociata coniugo".

[345] *Crescente fide*, chap. 2, 184: "Hec autem et his similia ab ipso tyrocinio spiritaliter activam ęcclesię vitam immítans observabat. Sed et in quadragesimali tempore per arduum callem pergebat de civitate in civitatem ad ecclesias pedester discalciatus, ita ut radicitus in eius vestigiis cruor apparebat. Cilicio aspero subtus indutus, desuper vestibus regalibus circumamictus, non cessabat gratias soli agere Deo. Itaque in tempore messis in nocte surgens ibat latenter in agrum et triticum metebat et portabat in humeris suis ad domum suam et tractabat et in mollis molebat et cribrabat farinam. Similiterque sumens idriam cum uno cliente intempestae noctis pergebat ad aquam, quam hauriens sic dixit: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Que domum afferens, ex ea cum predicta [farina] oblatas coquebat. Simili modo nocturno silentio properabat in vineam suam cum ministro fideli et accipientes botros intriverunt in chorum et portabant in cellulam suam oculte, ibique calcabat illud in torculari et fuderunt in urceum. Idcirco haec faciebat ut per hoc sacerdotes salutis hostiam offerent Domino".

[346] *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior*, 154. Cf. also *Venantii Vita s. Radegundis*, chap. 5, 366–367: "Item nocturno tempore cum reclinaret cum principe, rogans se pro humana necessitate consurgere, levans, egressa cubiculo, tam diu ante secretum orationi incumbebat, iactato cilicio, ut solo calens spiritu, iactaret gelu penetrata, tota carne praemortua, non curans corporis tormenta mens intenta paradiso, leve reputans quod ferret, tantum ne Christo villesceret. Inde regressa cubiculum, vix tepefieri poterat vel foco vel lectulo. De qua regi dicebatur, habere se potius monacham quam reginam."; See also ibid., chap. 17–19, 370–371 and chap. 16, 370: "... oblationes etiam suis minibus facies, locis venerabilibus incessabiliter dispesavit."; On the importance of these legends with regard to the earliest St Wenceslaus legends, see Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 190.

certain similarities between the three legends, it is necessary to reiterate what František Graus once wrote: "While Radegund flies from her queenly state, Mathilda becomes a new holy queen; two worlds emerge."[347] In other words, monkish motifs apparently only facilitated the saintly appearance of a given figure. In any case, their considerable role in many legends originating in the same time period presents proof to that effect.[348] Such motives likewise appeared in legends relating the stories of holy bishops, the de facto rulers of small "city states" throughout Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. They were adopted by the progeny of the senatorial aristocracy in an attempt at harnessing the charismatic potential of the church in a bid to preserve their legitimacy at a time when the Roman Empire started to wane and its authority no longer afforded a guarantee of power.[349] Simultaneously, their portrayal in legends was one of "shepherds of their flocks", commissioned by God. This commissioning enabled them to carry out their governing duties instead of abandoning the world entirely; apparent in legends as well as outside of the texts, this arrangement did not keep them from "personal" asceticism, enabling them to attend to duties allocated by God. Attempts at portraying Wenceslaus as the ideal ruler, holy prince and active defender of the faith, an image approaching the ideal of the princess presented in the *Vitae Mathildis*, do not contradict his asceticism and thus largely correspond to this trend. The following sentence doubtlessly forms a key piece of evidence: "At that time he set his heart on journeying to Rome where the Pope might allow him to don a monk's cassock and hand over the reign to his brother. However, he could not do so due to the above mentioned church, as it was not yet

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[347] Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger*, 411; However, Venantius's and Baudovinia's— *Baudoviniae Vita s. Radegundis*, edited by Bruno Krusch, *MGH* SRM 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), 377–395—image of Radegund substantially differs—whereas Bishop Venantius presents a humble ascetic, Abbtess Baudovinia portrays an influential and active woman, see at least Sabine Gäbe, "Radegundis: sancta, regina, ancilla: Zum Heiligkeitsideal der Radegundisviten von Fortunat und Baudonivia," *Francia* 16 (1989): 1–30. Thus it is not appropriate to reconstruct the general development of a type of legend on the basis of the contrast between Venantius's portrayal of Radegund and a later image of Mathilda.

[348] Ludwig Zoepf, *Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert*, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittealters und der Renaissance 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1908), 108–112. It is not possible to overlook the fact that in the Anglo-Saxon period the death at hands of traitors was a sufficient argument for the recongition of holiness, no further references to virtuous life were often required, cf. Rollason, "The Cults of Murdered Royal Saints."

[349] Jussen, "Liturgie und Legitimation," 75–136; Jussen, "Über 'Bischofsherrschaften'," 673–718.

finished."[350] Although St. Wenceslaus—as depicted in the *Crescente fide*—does want to enter a monastery, his ruling duties come first. No legend-writer tasked with relating the story of a holy ruler–ascetic would ever make allowances for such a course of events; it is thus no longer possible to consider *Crescente fide* as belonging to this type of legend.[351] In other words, coinciding component motifs do not comprise congruence in the overall image of the protagonist.

St. Wenceslaus is depicted as a patron of the church, thus ranking among excellent Christian rulers—in the literary context of the times, supporting the church was considered the hallmark of a good prince. Virtues likewise ascribed to his person, i.e. providing for widows and orphans as well as a sense of justice, also belong to characteristics attributed to the ideal Christian ruler. The figure of St. Wenceslaus is associated with nearly all of the classic virtues expected of a ruler of the times, in fact—according to both Dušan Třeštík and Gabor Klaniczay—the second article in particular may be said to function as a "mirror of princely character". For that matter, it is sufficient to compare his depiction in the *Crescente fide* (970s) with the positive images of Přemyslid princes found in the work of early medieval chroniclers.[352]

Similar reservations may be made regarding attempts at reconstructing the development of the concept of St. Wenceslaus from *Crescente fide* (970s) to *Gumpold's Legend* (974–983).[353] Gumpold's assurance that

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[350] See n. 336.

[351] František Graus presents several possible variants and refers to the legends of kings-ascetics, betrayed rulers and those who were killed in combat against pagans, see Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger*, 428–429. The author proceeds especially from *Bedae Historia ecclesiastica* 2.9–16, 97–118; 3.6, 137–139; 3.8–13, 144–154; 4.11, 225–227; 4.17 [19]; 243–246; 4.21 [23], 254; 5.19, 321–322. On the role of ascetic elements in legends, see e.g. David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford – Cambridge (MA), 1989), 168–170.

[352] E.g. *Cosmae Chronica* 20.17, 109: "...dux Zpitigneu hoc agnomen sibi ascivit, ut ab omnibus diceretur pater clericorum, defensor viduarum..."; Cf. further on this page, and also ibid., 1.33, 59 (emphasis on the Duke's justice) and ibid., 2.13, 103. Randomly for similar passages, see *Vita Caroli Magni*, edited by Oswald Holder-Egger, *MGH* SRG 25 (Hannover: Hahn, 1911), chap. 7, 10; chap. 21, 25; chap. 25, 30; chap. 26, 30–31; chap. 27, 31–32; *Thegani Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, chap. 1, 174; chap. 3, 178; chap. 6, 180–184; chap. 19, 200–204; chap. 22, 212; chap. 44, 232–234, *Wiponis Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris,* in *Wiponis Opera*, edited by Harry Bresslau, *MGH* SRG 61 (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1915), chap. 2, 16; chap. 3, 22–23; chap. 5, 27. Most of these are the Old Testament motifs. On the attributes of an ideal ruler and the contemporary characteristics of a tyrant, see Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger*, 348–353. Comprehensively on the literary genre of the mirrors for princes in the early Middle Ages, see Hans H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonner Historische Forschungen 32 (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1968).

[353] Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 186–187; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 107–108; Marina Y. Paramonova, "Heiligkeit und Verwandtschaft: Die dynastischen Motive in

although Wenceslaus was concerned with divine duties, he was reluctant to renounce his earthly obligations for fear of having to suffer for the sins of his people, forms the sole element in favour of this claim.[354] However, this is merely an elaboration on a motif taken from the *Crescente fide* (970s), something Gumpold (974–983) resorted to many times throughout his work. According to Marina Paramonova, Gumpold devotes far more attention to an examination of Wenceslaus' virtues and his forebears' noble descent than the author of *Crescente fide* (970s). However, this claim lacks the necessary factual support. Her primary argument is based on differences in the extent of passages depicting the ruler's qualities, but there are significant differences in overall extent of the two texts in question (*Crescente fide*—7 pages, *Gumpold's Legend*—20 pages in the same edition) render the argument largely irrelevant.[355] The two texts are thus best placed side by side rather than one after the other.[356]

The significance of the depiction of St. Wenceslaus in *Crescente fide* presented here is somewhat at odds with the notions set out by Josef Kalousek, Dušan Třeštík and Gabor Klaniczay. Instead of insisting on a rivalry between two ideals, i.e. the ascetic and the ruler, it seems more fitting to propose a scheme where the two sides of Wenceslaus' personality are conditioned and interlinked. In any case, the author of the *Crescente fide* is not alone in admitting that the saintly and the secular might have comprised two aspects of one and the same man: e.g. the Anglo-Saxon writer Ælfric,[357] Gumpold's contemporary, finds no serious contradictions between the functions of a warrior and that of a saint.

Christian's (990s) depiction of St. Wenceslaus is significantly influenced by earlier versions of *Crescente fide* as well as by other legends he knew and drew on. In this respect, examining it in detail is unnecessary.[358]

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den lateinischen Wenzelslegenden und in den Legenden der Boris und Gleb," in *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociéteés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Âgeet à l'époque moderne: Approche comparative*, edited by Marek Derwich and Mikhail Dimitriev, Opera ad historia monastica spectantia 1.3 (Wrocław: LARHCOR, 1999), 433–455, at 436–444.

[354] Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 186–187. Cf. *Gumpoldi Passio Vencezlai martyris*, chap. 5, 149.

[355] Paramonova, "Heiligkeit und Verwandtschaft," 436–444.

[356] For further information, see pp. 240–247.

[357] Hugh MacGennis, "Warrior saints, Warfare, and the Hagiography of Ælfric of Eynsham," *Traditio* 56 (2001): 27–51.

[358] Indeed, a number of obligatory motifs appear in the legend—e.g. St Wenceslaus' veracity, piety, mercy at trials, care for widows and orphans, but also providing the members of his retinue with clothing and weapons of quality, see *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 6,

The legend of Lawrence of Monte Cassino, dating to the first half of the eleventh century,[359] is a representative of a completely different filiation. The text features an unknown bishop who—foreseeing his future as a martyr—thus bestows a magnificent fate on a young boy at baptism.[360] Not only is the boy presented with a prophecy, he is also supplied with instruction concerning Christian virtues. Lawrence focuses primarily on Wenceslaus' generosity:[361] it is precisely this trait which allegedly gained the young prince-to-be such widespread sympathies that the people wanted him to become prince during his father's lifetime.[362] Generosity is supplemented here only by Christian zeal—in any case, this is Lawrence's interpretation of the countless visits to churches[363]—and, marginally, concern for his brother's manners and moderation in court proceedings[364] as well as Wenceslaus' own premature adulthood and scholarship.[365] Accusations on the part of noblemen complaining to Boleslav about Wenceslaus declining to hold a feast in their honour thus form the single remark relevant to Wenceslaus' "monkish ways" in the entire narrative.[366] Although the legend does depict Wenceslaus as an ideal ruler, Lawrence turns to a somewhat different set of traits to provide as evidence. Where the author

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54–56. Christian also mentions that St Wenceslaus as a penitent visited churches, barefoot and in horsehair cloths, leaving blood in his footsteps, see ibid., chap. 6, 56. The saint took part in the preparation of wine and bread for the mass, participated frequently in mass celebrations and was a great penitent, see ibid., chap. 6, 56–58. Christian's Wenceslaus not only led a virtuous life, but also fought for his faith by persecuting the pagans, punishing crimes against the Divine Law by the scourge, buying out and baptising slaves, see ibid., chap. 6, 58–60. His piety and zeal reportedly attracted the priests from Bavaria and Suavia. They came in great numbers and were welcomed at his court, see ibid., chap. 6, 60. His efforts culminated in the construction of a new St Vitus church, see ibid., chap. 6, 60–62. After its consecration, Wenceslaus allegedly decided to go to Rome and become a monk, see ibid., chap. 6, 62. Therefore, he sent envoys to Regensburg, but the pious intention failed owing to his death at hands of his brothers followers. However, Wenceslaus did not fear death, he, by contrast, craved the crown of martyrdom. He only wished that his own brother had not stained his hands with his blood, see ibid., chap. 6, 64.

[359] Cf. below, n. 312. Cf. also Wood, *Saints*, 199–201, who points out Laurentius's efforts to emphasise the role of priests in the establishment of St Wenceslaus cult, and asserts that Laurentius—unlike Gumpold—stresses the conflict between Wenceslaus-duke and Wenceslaus-monk.

[360] *Laurentii Passio sancti Wenzeslai regis*, chap. 4, 29.

[361] Ibid., chap. 4, 29.

[362] Ibid., chap. 4, 30.

[363] Ibid., chap. 5, 30.

[364] Ibid., chap. 6, 31–32.

[365] Ibid., chap. 2, 27.

[366] Ibid., chap. 7, 32–33. In this regard Laurentius's legend is exceptional, since, by contrast, the other legends—including St Ludmila legends—stress his care for magnates and his retine.

of *Crescente fide* (970s) and Gumpold (974–983) depart from a barbarian, semi-pagan perception of society—and thus commend Wenceslaus for his attempts at changing the state of affairs, Lawrence considers Bohemia a fully Christian country and consequently credits Wenceslaus for his relationship to his subjects, something previous legend-writers listed only briefly.

The author of the so-called *First Life of St. Wenceslas*, a text related to Lawrence's legend, devotes much less space to introducing St. Wenceslaus than do all other legend-writers.[367] He merely notes that Wenceslaus was born in a princely family and his haircutting was performed by Bishop Notker[368] and his education is considered somewhat important as well.[369] Wenceslaus is characterized directly; the traits chosen are similar to those found in previously discussed legends.[370] However, the *First Life of St. Wenceslas* differs from the traditional scheme in one significant aspect: the author's search for parallels between Wenceslaus, Christ himself, and St. Peter the Apostle.[371] Although this remarkable element permeates the entire narrative, the most prominent reference is only made towards the end of the text. First, Wenceslaus is deemed to be a model martyr first since he—like Christ—became the subject of debates. Second because he was—like St. Peter—chopped into pieces. Third, children were also killed for his sake as they had been for Christ's sake.[372] Unlike in the previously mentioned narratives, the committer of fratricide in the *First Life of St. Wenceslas* openly repents, acknowledging his crime and even transporting Wenceslaus' body to St. Vitus.[373] However, our findings may be summed up to indicate that the author intended to portray Wenceslaus as an active Christian prince.

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[367] The earliest version refers to St Wenceslaus as to a confessor, see *První staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu*, 36. (If not stated otherwise, the Croatian Glagolitic—allegedly the earliest—version is used in this book.)

[368] Ibid., 36–37.

[369] Ibid., 37.

[370] Ibid., 37.

[371] This view has already appeared in older literature, see e.g. Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 184–185. For some parallels, such as the motif of the killing of Wenceslaus' friends, see *Crescente fide*, chap. 9, 187–188: "Illico forsitan cursu rapido venientes in civitatem Pragam, omnes amicos eius perimerunt et clericos eius persecuti sunt, ut scriptum est: Percutiam pastorem et dispergentur oves. Illi autem homicidae qui eum occiderunt a demoniis exagitati fugerunt et ulterius non comparuerunt. Alii ex eis latrantes ut canes et stridentes dentibus, mortui sunt alii autem aridi et surdi usque ad mortem permanserunt".

[372] *První staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu*, 38–39, 41 and 42–43.

[373] Ibid., 43.

In examining the depiction of St. Wenceslaus in the oldest legends, passages diverging from the seemingly peaceful flow of tradition have (with one exception) been intentionally left out. However, passages differing from one another are of great interest and must be analysed in order for us to discern elements peculiar to individual writers and thus also the unique messages passed on to their respective readers.[374]

Crescente fide (970s) starts with an account of the beginnings of Christianity in Bohemia, associated here with Prince Spytihněv (†915).[375] The climax of the first chapter relates the rightful election of a young prince, carried out by "the entire population of that land".[376] The news of the election finds Wenceslaus in Budeč where he had been sent by his father to study the Psalter.[377] The Bohemia of *Crescente fide* comprised a firmly rooted component of the diocese of Regensburg. The legend implies that even St. Wenceslaus, the model Christian ruler, acknowledged the sovereignty of the Regensburg authority, when he invited the local bishop to attend the consecration of the new church.[378] Prince Boleslav, however, was in no way involved in his translation.[379] *Crescente fide* certainly presents the story in this manner for a reason. The differences between the individual narratives will become apparent following an analysis of the *Legenda Christiani*.[380]

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[374] For a valuable contribution to the comparison of different versions concerning the translation of Wenceslaus' relics, see Dušan Třeštík, "Translace a kanonizace sv. Václava," in *Světci a jejich kult ve středověku*, edited by Petr Kubín, Hana Pátková, and Tomáš Petráček, Sborník KTF UK, Dějiny umění—historie 4 (České Budějovice: Halama, 2006), 325–344, esp. 332–339. The author connects Wenceslaus' canonisation with Boleslava I's efforts to support his claim to the establishment of the Bishopric of Prague.

[375] *Crescente fide*, chap. 1, 183: "In diebus illis Crescente fide Christiana dei nutu et ammonitione sponte dux Poenorum nomine Zputigneus una cum exercitu necnon et omni populo suo sordes idolorum abiciens baptisatus est."; Similarly in *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior*, edited by Bernd Schütte. *MGH* SRG 66 (Hannover: Hahn, 1994), chap. 1, 113–114, and also generally in ninth and tenth century Saxon hagiography.

[376] *Crescente fide*, chap. 1, 183: "Interea convenerunt omnes pouli regionis illius et elegerunt beatum Vendezlaum ducem inpro patre suo et sedere eum fecerunt in throno ipsius".

[377] Ibid., chap. 1, 183: "Cuius filius maior, beatus Uendezlavus Dei instinctu ab ineunte etate semper desiderabat discere litteras. Et optans pater eius desiderium animi ipsius perficere, misit eum in civitatem nuncupatam Budceam, ut ibi disceret psalterium a quodam presbytero nomine Uenno. Tunc beatus Uendezlaus capaci mente gratanter cepit discere, de die in diem melius meliusque proficiens."; See also Jiří Sláma, "Příspěvek ke kulturním dějinám raněstředověkých Čech," SSPS 1 (1997): 37–4, at 38–39.

[378] *Crescente fide*, chap. 6, 186.

[379] Ibid., chap. 10, 188.

[380] Třeštík points out this aspect in connection with the motif of the construction of St Vitus Church, see Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 535–935*, 258–259.

Gumpold's development of the literary image of Wenceslaus' holiness as presented in *Crescente fide* is far from extensive. A mention of Wenceslaus' enthronement, taking place "subject to the might of the magnificent King Otto (I)",[381] comprises the only novel element.

Jacek Banaszkiewicz makes use of this mention as well as a number of similar allusions in an examination of Gumpold's intellectual world as contrasted with the works of Lawrence of Monte Cassino and Christian.[382] Banaszkiewicz's analysis is based mainly on Gumpold's allusion to the fact that Spytihněv's reign took place "during the reign of magnificent King Henry of blessed memory, . . . during the reign of the king"[383] and that the legend was composed "under the holy order of the victorious emperor and propagator of the empire Otto II".[384] These allusions are even connected to Gumpold's descriptions of barbarian Bohemia.[385] According to Banaszkiewicz, not only did the legend-writer aspire to celebrate St. Wenceslaus the martyr, he also strove to interconnect the history of Bohemia and the Ottonian dynasty. In short, Gumpold is allegedly attempting to prove that anything worthwhile found in Bohemia was brought from the empire and, moreover, that the sole chance of any future for Bohemia lies in its association with the empire: the primacy of the Saxons is determined by their ancient Christian tradition.[386] A comparison of Gumpold and Christian thus leads Banaszkiewicz to believe that Christian (990s) actively reacts to Gumpold (974–983), engaging in dispute with him. However, he does not fail to note that this may not have been intentional on Gumpold's part and that the bishop of Mantua may have only adopted attitudes found in his surroundings. Even so, accepting such conclusions would potentially result in very serious implications, essentially enabling us to view legends featuring St. Wenceslaus as component parts of the "struggle" surround-

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[381] *Gumpoldi Passio Vencezlai martyris*, chap. 4, 149: ". . . sub regis serenissimi Ottonis . . . potentia . . ."

[382] Banaszkiewicz, "Gumpold, Vavřinec a Kristián," 50–51.

[383] Ibid., chap. 2, 148: ". . . regnante felicis memoriae praeclarissimo rege Heinrico, . . . sub regis dominatu impendens . . ."

[384] Ibid., prologus, 147: ". . . victoriosissimi imperatoris augusti Ottonis secundi sacro jussu . . ."

[385] Ibid., chap. 1, 148: "Quarum quidem partium unam stili simplicitate praesentis exprimendam, incolis inhabitandam Sclavinicis, aggredimur. Plaga aquilonalis, ceteris immitior ac fide tardior, nostrae prostratur intentioni; quam ipsa sacri pneumatis charistia ad christianae cultum professionis, quamvis sera, tamen beata conversione dignata est".

[386] Banaszkiewicz, "Gumpold, Vavřinec a Kristián," 47–50. This approach is apparent especially in comparison with a seemingly identical image in Laurentius's work. Christian, by contrast, stresses the ancientness of Moravian Christianity.

ing the image of Přemyslid history—as early as in the hagiography of the tenth century. This could perhaps justify the rather unusual occurrence, i.e. the fact that by the tenth century, St. Wenceslaus had already become the protagonist of a number of hagiographic accounts. Or not?[387]

In order to assess the hypothesis put forth by the Polish scholar, it is necessary to turn to the *Second Life of St. Wenceslaus*[388] which, being nothing short of a translation of Gumpold's text into Old Church Slavonic, could—especially in comparison with the source text—perhaps provide more than a few answers. However, the anonymous translator adheres rigidly to the source text in all passages where—in case Banaszkiewicz's hypothesis is accepted—deviations of the *Second Life of St. Wenceslaus* from *Gumpold's Legend* are to be expected, i.e. passages alluding to the supreme power of the Ottonian kings.[389] The "supreme rule" of the Ottonians thus remains unchallenged, even by an author from what is now Bohemia.

In case Banaszkiewicz's hypothesis was to be accepted as justifiable, a second problem arises, namely why Bohemian princess, Emma (†1005/1006), opted for including *Gumpold's Legend* (974–983) in "her" manuscript.[390] Could Gumpold's tirades have lost their edge with the turn of the millennium, when Cracow had been lost to the Přemyslids and strategy to the emperor had been changed? These questions remain unanswered and must be subject to further, especially codicological, analysis.

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[387] Similarly, older German historiography emphasises allegedly different conceptions of the empire in Ottonian sources and regards them as proof of the "polemics" regarding the "Roman" and "Germanic" conceptions, cf. e.g. Hagen Keller, "Das Kaisertum Ottos des Großen im Verständnis seiner Zeit," *DA* 20 (1964). 325–388. Critically on these ideas— also on the basis of the analysis of the manuscipts—, see Körntgen, *Königsherrrschaft und Gottes Gnade*. This, however, does not mean that the "political" questions did not play any role in the thinking and literature of that time, or that early medieval rulers did not have a concept of the arrangement of the world, see a general reflection in Eckhard Eickhoff, "Otto III. in Pereum: Konzepte und Verwirklichung seiner Missionspolitik," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 83 (2001): 25–36, or Johannes Fried, "Römische Erinerrung: Zu den Anfängen und frühen Wirkungen des christlichen Rommythos," in *Studien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters: Jürgen Petersohn zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Matthias Thumser, Annegret Wenz-Haubfleisch, and Peter Wiegend (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), 1–41.

[388] *Druhá staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu*, edited by Josef Vašica, 84–124.

[389] Cf. especially ibid., chap. 2, 89: "*ейже царствоуюѱемъ съчас̑тноѐ памяти прѣстѣтльмъ царемъ ѐйрѣхом, фратьс̀кїмъ й римс̀кїмъ, ѐтеръ ѡ колѣиа рода того свѣтлѣй толи силою великъ в соусѣдех присѣда, йменемъ спытигнѣвъ, сынъ боривоѐвъ, к̀няжїа строй под царскою властїю држа, . . .*" See also ibid., chap. 4, 90–91.

[390] See Pavel Spunar, "Paleografické poznámky k wolfenbüttelskému rukopisu Gumpoldovy legendy," *LF* 79 (1956): 39–46. The author proves that this manuscript comes from the Hildesheim Scriptorium. It is worth mentioning that one of the manuscript's illuminations reflects the familiarity with Christian's work.

Nevertheless, it seems that attitudes to Gumpold's notes and stylizations did indeed differ.[391]

The *First Life of St. Wenceslaus* mentions neither Regensburg nor "magnificent kings" Henry and Otto. Wenceslaus is presented as the victim of a conspiracy of noblemen, an exemplum of sorts. "Those who rebel against their master are akin to Judas!" remains one of the chief motifs of the entire anonymous account.[392] In addition to the exemplum—a direct reference to Judas—it remains only to provide evidence of Boleslav as fratricide, albeit a repentant one. The glory of the holy martyr thus rests even on the progeny of the fratricide himself.

In spite of his resolution to reconcile contradicting versions, Christian adopts a negative approach to the Bavarian tradition in the first two chapters, both of which are devoted to the Great Moravian roots of Bohemian Christianity. Though he does note that Bohemia was formerly subject to Regensburg, he does not fail to add—unlike *Crescente fide* and *Gumpold's Legend*—that this is indeed a long gone state of affairs.[393] Again, unlike the authors of *Crescente fide* and *Gumpold's Legend*, Christian considers Spytihněv's father Bořivoj—allegedly baptized in Moravia by Methodius (†885) himself—to be the first Christian prince. His Wenceslaus (921–935) does not rule "subject to the power" of glorious Henry I (919–936) or Otto I (936–973), but "in the days of Henry, king of the Saxons, who first among them donned the crown by the grace of Christ and with whom he remained in everlasting friendship".[394] Following Wenceslaus' killing, his body was to be laid to rest in Boleslav's church of St. Cosmas and Damian for three years. After several clergymen received the same vision, encouraging them to move the body to St. Vitus in Prague, Boleslav I (935–972)

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[391] For a preliminary answer, see the following pages of this book and also David Kalhous, "Sv. Václav Homiliáře opatovického," 357–365.

[392] *První staroslověnská legenda o sv. Václavu*, 38. See Třeštík, "Miscellanea k I. staroslověnské legendě," 337–343, who points out the records of a synod in Croatia. For a closer parallel to Judas's motif, see *Acta synodi Hohenaltheimensis*, chap. 19, in *Concilia aevi Saxonici*, vol. 1, *916–960*, edited by Ernst-Dieter Hehl and Horst Fuhrmann, *MGH* LL 4, Concilia 6.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1987), 27: "Ab universo clero et populo dictum est: Qui contra hanc vestram definitionem presumpserit, anathema maranatha, hoc est perditio, in adventu domini sit, et cum Iuda Scarioth partem habeat et socii eorum; amen."; On the records, see Horst Fuhrmann, "Die Synode von Hohenaltheim (916)—quellenkundlich betrachtet," *DA* 43 (1987): 440–468. The parallel between the ruler's traitor and Judas is relatively widespread in the early Middle Ages—similar accounts also appear in Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon sources.

[393] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 5, 52.

[394] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 7, 64: "…temporibus Henrici regis Saxonum, qui primus inter ipsos, Christo sibi propicio, dyadema imposuit, cui felix isdem amicus iungebatur assidue…"

could no longer resist God's will and "in the guise of a Christian soldier" permitted them to do so.[395] God's intention was for the newly converted Bohemian *gens* to have their very own heavenly protector.[396] The narrative comes to a climax with the depiction of the miraculous victory over the prince of Kouřim in the tenth chapter; this essentially forms the conclusion of the entire legend.[397] However, this is only Christian's way of resuming where he left off in the prologue: "On finding that the martyrdom of the glorious Wenceslaus and his grandmother Ludmila of hallowed memory, whose virtuous light like the light of new stars now shines onto their Bohemian homeland and its people, has heretofore been only incompletely recounted in mutually contradictory narratives, it seems becoming... for me to rectify this account..."[398]—this in itself comprises a sufficiently explicit articulation of his efforts to depict Wenceslaus and Ludmila as patrons of the land and its people.

The notion was soon utilized by Přemyslid princes: the name of St. Wenceslaus is featured on coins from the reign of Prince Jaromír (1004–1012); Wenceslaus is depicted as a Christian martyr.[399] A sceptre was added

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[395] Ibid., chap. 8, 78. This is of importance, since e.g. *Crescente fide* completely refuses Boleslav's paticipation in this translation (!), see *Crescente fide*, chap. 10, 188.

[396] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 8, 78: "...quod Deus omnipotens genti Bohemorum, iamdudum ad se converse, magnum sua pietate patronum preparasset, confirmante Scriptura, quia: In omni gente, qui timet Deum et operatur iusticiam, acceptus est illi, et quia: Ubi habundavit delictum, superhabundavit et gracia."; This crucial, unambiguous passage is neglected in Třeštík's reflections of St Wenceslaus ideology, see Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 188–189.

[397] Ibid., chap. 10, 100–102. Ludvíkovský proves that this miracle already appeared in the original version of this legend, see Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Souboj sv. Václava s vévodou kouřimským v podání václavských legend," *Studie o rukopisech* 12 (1973, published in 1975), 89–100. Zdeněk Uhlíř, *Literární prameny svatováclavského kultu a úcty ve vrcholném a pozdním středověku* (Prague: Národní knihovna ČR, 1996), 12–13 rightly regards this as a central point of the whole composition. On other important questions, see Thomas Scharff, *Die Kämpfe der Herrscher und der Heiligen: Krieg und historische Erinnerung in der Karolingerzeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002).

[398] Ibid., prologue, 8: "Passionem beati Wenceslai simul cum ava sua beate memorie Liudmila, qui velut nova sidera lumine virtutum suarum patriam suam Bohemiam cum omni simul gente irradiant, diversis composicionibus et non pleniter disertam reperiens, dignum duxi, ut... aliquo modo eam corrigerem..."; The announced efforts to correct the predecessors is rare in later prologues, cf. Gertrude Simon, "Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts," *AfD* 4 (1958): 53–119; 5–6 (1959): 73–153. However, Miloš Šváb, *Prology a epilogy v české předhusitské literatuře*, Monografie Pedagogické fakulty v Plzni 1 (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1966), 150–156 shows that Christian's prologue corresponds to the period of its writing. St Wenceslaus' role as a patron saint is also stressed in *Kánon ke cti sv. Václavu*, edited by N.J. Serebrjanskij, 144–145.

[399] For a probably most comprehensive view, see Merhautová and Třeštík, *Ideové proudy v českém umění 12. století*, 84. See also Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 190–215, or more

under Břetislav I (1035–1055) and—later on, during the twelfth century—
the seals of Vladislav II (1140–1172) featured him not only as a patron saint
but as the eternal ruler of the land, passing on the *pax*, in this case to be
translated as a "rule", to each new prince.[400]

The role of the Přemyslid story becomes all the more apparent once
it is presented in context with Christian's concept of the beginnings of
Bohemian history. Christian asserts that the Bohemians, being afflicted by
the plague, followed the advice of an oracle and "established a town and
named it Prague/Praha".[401] They also selected a wise man, and—wedding
him and the prophetess—appointed him their ruler. For generations to
come, princes were subsequently chosen from among his parentage. The
plague was averted and order restored by "establishing a state" as well
as—of course—by choosing a prince and thus an entire ruling lineage.
Přemysl thus appears as the progenitor of a dynasty as well as someone
who brought the Bohemians peace and order. His role in the legend itself
is twofold: he was chosen by the "people" and presented with power.
However, he is expected to take care of them in return.[402] Christian seems
to consider the position occupied by the Přemyslid dynasty an absolute
given—or, in any case, he presents and promotes it as such; however,
their claim to power is counterbalanced by their obligations to ensure
peace. Moreover, Christian holds the right of the "people" to influence the
course of events by electing their own prince in high regard.[403]

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recently Wolverton, *Hastening toward Prague*; on the iconography on coins and seals, see
František Graus, "St. Adalbert und St. Wenzel: Zur Funktion der mittelalterlichen Heiligen-
verehrung in Böhmen," in *Europa Slavica, Europa Orientalis*: *Festschrift für Herbert Ludat
zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Klaus-Detlev Grothusen and Klaus Zernack (Berlin: Duncker
& Humblot, 1980), 205–231.

[400] Merhautová and Třeštík, *Ideové proudy*, 86, 95–96.

[401] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 2, 18: "Quo accepto civitatem statuunt, nomenque inpo-
nunt Pragam." In the following sentence the Bohemians "designate" (*statuunt*) Přemysl as
the ruler. The term *civitas* appears in the text—for an analysis of this word, see Bláhová,
Evropská sídliště v latinských pramenech. The term is commonly translated as "town", one
of the reasons being that it appears in the legend in connection with Prague. However,
this expression probably concerns a central settlement together with its administrative
district, the form of administration of a certain area, rather than the area inside the ram-
parts. Two facts support this explanation. Firstly, the summary *Dagomę iudex* also denotes
Mieszko's domain as the *civitas Shinesgne*. Secondly, Abraham ibn Jacob describes Bole-
slav I as the King of Prague, Bohemia and Cracow and thus distinguishes between Prague
and Bohemia, see *Ibrāhīma ibn Jaᶜqūba al-Isrāʾīlī at-Turtūšī Dikr as-Saqāliba*, translated by
Ján Pauliny, 116.

[402] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 2, 18.

[403] Ibid., chap. 2, 18; ibid., chap. 2, 20–24.

The accession of Prince Bořivoj, or—in this case—his baptism, transformed the dynasty: chosen by the people and confirmed by God, the choice made by the Bohemians of old, i.e. that of selecting Přemysl and his parentage, was thus legitimized; it could not have taken place without divine consent.[404] Christian's intentions are evident from his choice of attributes and structure. The uprising against the prince (and thus against Christian faith) is depicted as inspired by a diabolical impulse[405] while Bořivoj's actions are associated with divine providence.[406] The prince's adversaries are even labelled as the most treacherous of traitors, acting stealthily, insidiously, in the dark.[407] Allowing Bořivoj's rivals to devise a scheme in advance effectively justifies the stratagem employed by the protagonist's allies. In addition, as Christian regards Bořivoj as the first supporter of the clergy and builder of churches, he goes on to create a firm bond between the prince and his descendants. In emphasizing his role in the spread of Christianity in Bohemia, Christian likewise makes use of the opportunity to introduce him as one of the "heroes" of the good Přemyslid dynasty.[408]

His depiction of St. Wenceslaus is very similar: he is considered to be the patron of both the dynasty and the entire land. His martyrdom is consequently considered to comprise the necessary outcome of the Christianization of the country as well as the crowning "achievement" of a long line of Přemyslid heroes, whose virtue—following the beneficial introduction of laws and Christianity—finally allowed the light of a saint's glory to shine on Bohemia. Thus, the account of the excellent Přemyslids ends with—what else—the figure of a holy prince. Christian's narrative makes use of a martyr from generations past, one who already proved his worth by performing miracles associated with the Přemyslid dynasty as well as

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[404] Conf. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski.*

[405] *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 2, 20: "Que cernens perfidus chelidrus, propriis armis sumptis antiqua bella repetit. Populum cunctum Boemorum in furorem principis accendit, eo quod paternos mores relinqueret et novam atque inauditam sanctitatis legem Christianorum arriperet".

[406] Ibid., chap. 2, 22: "Dei Providencia disponente supramemoratus princeps Borivoi…"

[407] Ibid., chap. 2, 22: "Sed perfida pars perfidorum perpere agens, arma secum loricasque occulte in eundem campum deferens, piorum adversus partem signum occultum necis inter se condixit…"

[408] An attempt to connect Christianisation with a certain dynasty appears e.g. in the work of Dudo of Saint-Quentin, see Leah Shopkow, "The Carolingian World of Dudo of Saint-Quentin," *JMedH* 15 (1989): 19–37. Nevertheless, Dudo proceeds from the older Carolingian (and Venerable Bede's) conceptions of the king as the protector of the Church.

the land and thus forms a suitable integrating element for generations to come.

Christian crafts a coherent story, employing the past, i.e. Přemyslid rule in Bohemia (and Moravia), in explanations of the present. He does so in original fashion: he is the only early medieval scholar to combine a "pagan" account of the beginnings of a reign,[409] a church history of sorts and two legends in a conceptually unified whole. Although narratives combining the life story of a saint, an account of the beginnings of Christianity, and a report on the state of affairs in pagan times are not unique—a number of similar documents are to be found in Saxony[410]—a text interconnecting a legend recounting the birth of a dynasty and its subsequent reign and an account of beginnings and saints remains unparalleled in both early medieval hagiography and historiography.

The *Legenda Christiani* thus features a number of interwoven and mutually sustaining plot lines and elements. From the dynastic legend and its allusions to "pagan times" and the history of the power shift from Moravia to Bohemia to the blessing of the Přemyslid dynasty by virtue of two saints, Ludmila and Wenceslaus, all of the elements featured therein are aimed at reinforcing and strengthening the position of the Přemyslids as a ruling family. Contemplations on the task of the dynasty comprise one of the central components of the text; moreover, the bond between the ruling family and the people of Bohemia is perceived as one of the fundamental pillars of the emerging Přemyslid domain.

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[409] This story, however, cannot be classified as *origo gentis*, since Christian does not refer to the origins of the Bohemians or to their travel. And even the origins of the ducal dynasty are treated briefly. It is three concrete rulers, outstanding not only in terms of their origin, but also their deeds, who play major role in Christian's work. The references to the ancestors of holy kings-martyrs are not quite unique, see Rollason, "The Cults of Murdered Royal Saints."

[410] Cf. *Vita s. Lebuini*, edited by Adolf Hofmeister, *MGH* SS 30.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1934), chap. 1, 791; *Translatio s. Alexandri*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, *MGH* SS 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1829), 674; (Unfortunately, I did not have Krusch's more recent edition at my disposal.) *Ex translationis s. Pusinnae*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, *MGH* SS 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1829), 681. See also Helmut Beumann, "Die Hagiographie 'bewältigt': Unterwerfung und Christianisierung der Sachsen durch Karl dem Großen," in Helmut Beumann, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1966–1986: Festgabe zu seinen 75. Geburtstag*, edited by Jürgen Petersohn and Roderich Schmidt (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1987), 289–323; Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens*; Richard Corradini, "Überlegungen zur sächsischen Ethnogenese anhand der Annales Fuldenses und deren sächsisch-ottonischer Rezeption," in *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen: Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, edited by Walter Pohl, Denkschriften der ÖAdW: Ph.-h. Kl. 322—Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 8 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), 211–231.

A further connection between the Přemyslids and the "Bohemians" is undoubtedly facilitated by a shared relationship to St. Wenceslaus, their common patron saint. The prince and his people are being shaped into a unified whole even thanks to the legend itself, consequently defining themselves in opposition to the world at large, i.e. in opposition to similar communities.[411] The *Legenda Christiani* is not an isolated attempt at utilizing the power of a saint in order to strengthen the bonds among a given group of people or organisation. The patronage of a saint and his or her earthly representative—a bishop—has been documented as occurring as early as at the shift from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. A similar role has been attributed to charismatic founders of monastic communities: according to later biographers, their charisma affected a given space and the community occupying that space. Saints who became patrons of more extensive units, e.g. kingdoms, should be mentioned as well.[412] St. Jacob belongs to the best known of them. His initial relationship to Hispania is only noted in a handful of apostolic catalogues.[413] Later on, during the

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[411] As far as the relationships to the German Empire are concerned, rather the older approach of Henry I the Fowler's times is reflected in Christian's work, since Christian describes the mutual relationship between Henry and St Wenceslaus as a "friendship". This notion, indeed, can be understood in various ways, but at that time this term expressed rather a formal, equal relationship, which may have involved the king's priority and the willingness to submit to the king in some regards, see at least Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců, 535–935*, 410–418. One interesting fact is worth mentioning, which proceeds from the Přemyslid genealogy and especially the imperial necrologies of the tenth and eleventh centuries—unlike the Piasts, who made efforts to approach to the significant Saxon and other dynasties by means of marriages, the tenth-century Přemyslids did not show this tendency. Only the Duchess Hemma appears in the aforementioned necrologies.

[412] See already Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 215–228. The ownership of the relics played a crucial role, since the relics mediated the relationship with the saint and, by extension, to God. Thus, they determined the relationship of the community to the supernatural. Their distribution strengthened the mutual ties between the holders of the relics. The examples of the rendering of power by means of objects important to the life of community also appear in "primitive" cultures in Asia, Africa or America. For the anthropological context, cf. Godelier, *The enigmaof the Gift*; directly on the relics, see Patrick Geary, Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics in: Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 194–218; on the use of the relics—especially of the saints of royal origin—for the strengthening of royal power, at the example of the Anglo-Saxon environment, see Rollason, *Saints and Relics*.

[413] Jan van Herwaarden, "The Origins of the Cult of St. James of Compostela,"*JMedH* 6 (1980): 1–35; Baudoin de Gaiffier, "Notes sur quelques documentes relatifs à la translation de St.-Jacques en Espagne," *Analecta Bolandiana* 89 (1971): 47–66; Odilo Engels, "Die Anfänge des spanischen Jakobusgrabes in kirchenpolitischer Sicht," *Römische Quartalschrift* 75 (1980): 146–170. For an analysis of the relationships between the manusripts of the *Breviarium apostolorum*, with a special regard to interpolations, see Baudoin de Gaiffier, "Le Breviarium Apostolorum," *Analecta Bollandiana* 81 (1963): 89–116.

ninth and tenth centuries, he became the protector of Asturias and King Bermudo, builder and protector of the cathedral in Compostela, whose adversaries—not unlike Wenceslaus' enemies in the *First Life of St. Wenceslas*—were described as Judases in Sampiro's chronicle.[414] By the eleventh century, the apostle was being invoked in battle as the patron saint of the king, the Reconquista and—eventually—of the entire country.[415]

The cult of St. Mark in Venice, another apostle, evolved somewhat differently.[416] The remains of the saint were only abducted from Alexandria at the beginning of the ninth century. Legend has it that the ship, arriving in Venice with the "pilgrims" on board, was welcomed in spectacular fashion: the doge even had a crypt and church erected in honour of the saint.[417] At the same time, i.e. around the year 830, a translation legend attempting to associate Mark's mission with the area around present-day Venice emerged.[418] In the following years, the bond between Mark,

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[414] Most recently, see Amancio Isla, "Building Kingship on Words: Magni Reges and Sanctus Rex in the Asturleonese Kingdom," *JMedH* 28 (2002): 249–261. On the importance of this cult in the eleventh and twelfth century, see Klaus Herbers, "Politik und Heiligenverehrung auf der iberischen Halbinsel: Die Entwicklung des 'politischen Jakobus'," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, edited by Jürgen Petersohn, VuF 43 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), 177–275.

[415] Herbers, "Politik und Heiligenverehrung," 203–209.

[416] Systematically Regina Denning and Alfons Zettler, "Der Evangelist Markus in Venedig und in Reichenau," *ZGORh* 144 (1996): 19–46. For the most recent edition of the *Translatio s. Marci*, see Regina Denning-Zetler, "Die Translatio S. Marci: Ein Beitrag zu den Anfängen Venedigs und zur Kritik der ältesten venezianischen Historiographie" (PhD diss., Universität Freiburg, 1991), 76–110.

[417] Ibid., 110: "Olivolensem sanctum corpus venisset, egressus cum crucibus Ursus episcopus loci illius et omnium ministrorum ordinibus unduti sacerdotalibus tunicis reverentissimo corpori obviant. Suscipientesque illud adduxerunt ad ducis palatium. Accepto igitur corpore dux posuit illud in cenaculi loco, qui apud eius palatium usque in presens tempus monstratur. Ordinatis cantoribus ac ministris, qui ibidem deo laudes offerent, inter quos custos ille Stauratius primus erat. At vero dux Iustinianus cum supra beatum corpus ecclesiam vellet construere, morte preventus est. Cuius germanus Iohannes ducatum suscipiens vicem eius explevit. Construxit namque iuxta palatium elegantissime forme basilicam ad eam similitudinem, quam supra domini tumulum viderat Iherosolimis.; Iohannis diaconi Chronicon Venetum et Gradense", edited by Georg H. Pertz, *MGH* SS 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), 17: "Isdem vero domnus Iohannes dux sanctissimi Marci euangeliste ecclesiam consecrare, et digne beatum corpus in eadem collocare procuravit."

[418] Denning-Zetler, "Die Translatio S. Marci," 76: "Siquidem Veneciae duae sunt. Prima est illa, que in antiquis tantum istoriis continetur, que a Pannoniae termino usque ad Adam fluvium protelatur. Cuius et Aquileia civitas extitit capud, in qua beatum idem euuangelista (Marcus), divina gratia perlustratus, Christum Ihesum dominum predicaverat."; ibid., 82–84: "Eodem tempore romanam ecclesiam vir sanctissimus Benedictus regebat, Aquileiensi quoque civitati eiusque populis beatus Paulus patriarcha preerat. Qui Langobardorum rabiem metuens ex Aquileia ad Gradus insulam confugit, secumque beatissimi martiris Hermagore et caeterorum snactorum corpora, que ibi humata fuerant,

the doge, and Venice gradually gained strength, finally culminating in the tenth or eleventh century with Mark becoming the city's patron saint.[419]Beginning in the twelfth century, the French cult of St. Denis underwent similar developments, uniting ruler and country as well as monastery and dynasty. Symbolizing unity, it also facilitated continuity in rule.[420] In the first half of the eleventh century in Kievan Rus, an attempt was also made at using princes Boris and Gleb, murdered brothers, to reinforce ruling power.[421] The cult of King Olaf of Norway (1015–1028) likewise played an important legitimizing role: translated and thereby canonized shortly after his death in 1031, St. Olaf was transformed into the "eternal king of the Norwegians" in the second half of the twelfth century.[422]

All of above mentioned text were written from tenth to the twelfth centuries and *Legenda Christiani* seems to be one of these texts. St. Boris and Gleb, or St. Olaf, were members of ruling families, and as with St. Wenceslas, they helped to strengthen the charisma of ruling dynasty. St. Jacob and St. Mark enjoyed respect as apostles. Initially, St. Jacob came to be patron of the king Bermudo III himself, who used the authority of the saint to boost his legitimacy and power. However, soon apostle was transformed in the patron of Reconquista and the lands ruled by Bermudo's successors. All

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deportavit. Et apud eundem Gradensem castrum dignissimo honore condidit ipsamque urbem Aquileiam novam vocavit. In quo aetiam loco post paucum tempus Helias egregius patriarcha, qui tercius post Paulum regendum suscepit aecclesiam, ex consensu beatissimi pape Pelagii, facta synodo viginti episcoporum Gradensem urbem tocius Venecie metropolim esse instituit. Ad cuis robor Eraclius post haec augustus beatissimi Marci sedem, quam dudum Helena Constantini mater de Alexandria detulerat, sanctorum fultus amore direxit, ubi et actenus veneratur, pariter cum cathedra, in qua beatus martir sederat Hermagoras". For the interpretation, see ibid., 184–205.

[419]   Denning and Zettler, "Der Evangelist Markus," 39–40.

[420]   Gabriele M. Spiegel, "The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship," *JMedH* 1 (1975): 43–69.

[421]   On the basis of an analysis of the image of these saints in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, see Paramonova, "Heiligkeit und Verwandtschaft," 443–453. The cult of Boris and Gleb was influenced by the cult of St Wencelaus.

[422]   For the earliest evidence of the perception of Olaf as the patron saint—from the second half of the twelfth century—, see *Historia Norwegie*, edited by Inger Emkren and Lars Boje Mortensen, translated by Peter Fisher (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2003), chap. 15, 86: "...cum de illorum progenie sint progressi illi salutares equiuoci duo Olaui, qui quasi clara celi luminaria suam sacre luce fideo illustrabant patriam." Cf. also similar terminology in *Legenda Christiani*, Prologus, 8: "Passionem beati Wenceslai simul cum ava sua beate memorie Liudmila, qui velut nova sidera lumine virtutum suarum patriam suam Bohemiam cum omni simul gente irradiant..." See also Erich Hoffmann, *Die heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und den skandinavischen Völkern: Königsheiliger und Königshaus*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins 69 (Münster: Wachholz, 1975), 58–89; on the martyrdom, see ibid., 65–73; on the connection of the *stirps regia* with the land, see ibid., 82–89.

legends mentioned above were written in the situation when the legitimacy of rule was endangered and weak. The same could be said about *Legenda Christiani* written in the situation when Přemyslids were under pressure from the Piast princes and their right to rule could have been doubted.

This image is reminiscent of St. Wenceslaus in the Přemyslid domain: during the eleventh century, St. Wenceslaus underwent a shift from martyr and intercessor to eternal ruler and keeper of the "peace" which is only temporarily conferred upon the ruling prince.[423] The foundations of such notions are to be found in the *Legenda Christiani*: it was Christian who first presented St. Wenceslaus as the patron saint of both the dynasty, the Bohemians and the "country" and—as the only such medieval writer— interconnected the history of Christianization, the story of a dynasty, and two legends.[424] However, while Christian's notion of Wenceslaus as patron saint quickly took root, his concept of history as a whole was to become forgotten for centuries. It is no coincidence that the first manuscripts of the complete *Legenda Christiani* are only known from sources as late as the fourteenth century.

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[423] For the evidence, especially coins and seals, see Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika*, 192–215. Cf. also Merhautová and Třeštík, *Ideové proudy*, 84–99, or Woolverton, *Hasteing towards Prague*.

[424] Another question is, to what extent these ideas were spread in the Přemyslid environment. This problem is connected with the general issue of the reception of Latin culture in environments in which writing and reading skills are rather rare. On the transformation of the language of legends with regard to the limitation of the readership to monk communities and in connection with Latin increasingly becoming a dead language, see Heene, "Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography," 415–428; see also Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum*.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the limits of Přemyslid power in tenth century clearly demonstrates its weakness. Naturally, the Přemyslid and the Piast princes were accompanied by cavalry retinue. However, this hardly exceeded hundreds of armored horsemen. Although this fact does not exclude the existence of more powerful armies, these armies did not consist of princely retinues only. A retinue as a social organism has to be closely connected with the person of its lord, in whose presence it spends most of its time, fidelity ensured by luxurious goods. Also, in tenth-century Bohemia, it was not possible to supply great entourages in one place.

Tenth- and eleventh-century sources describe the Přemyslid and the Piast "realms" as spacious domains. However, the analysis of these sources shows problematic aspects of this interpretation. First, most of these sources were written by people whose knowledge about the Přemyslid and Piast domains was mediated through their reporters. Second, the authors of our sources often grew up in a different world that was ruled by strong kings, emperors, and caliphs, who were used to a centralized state apparatus. Thirdly, witness of these sources is not confirmed by tenth century chronicles and annals written in the Holy Roman Empire, which was the most powerful neighbor of these Piast and Přemyslid realms. Fourthly, *Dagomę iudex* and the description of the borders of the Prague bishopric in the charter of Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106), which are closely connected with the Polish and Bohemian milieu, acknowledge the claims of Piast princes or St. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague (982–997). However, we have no idea how they are related to the tenth-century political "reality". Also, the real influence of a Prague prince in the southern regions of today's Poland, which was traditionally acknowledged as a part of his realm, can be hardly estimated. The source evidence and the logistical limits of tenth-century society allow us to see the tenth-century Přemyslids more as lords leading their retinues than as rulers at the head of their realm. Naturally, the group of horsemen protected by chain-armor and well trained in the art of war gave the Přemyslids a powerful weapon in hand. However, the strength of their position was more closely connected with the fact that they were accepted as the lords by the elites in Bohemia and Moravia.

For the future success of these young dynasties, two key factors were of the greatest importance. No medieval ruler was able to rule without cooperation from the elites and the Přemyslids (or Piasts) were no excep-

tion. Princely support provided the elites with legitimacy and the ducal court was the natural centre of the land, where the members of the elite from all Bohemia had been given the chance to meet each other. It was probably common action and intensified communication mediated by Přemyslids that gave the elites from Bohemia their identity. In other words, the Přemyslids came to be the rulers of Bohemia not because of the strength of their cavalry, but because of their ability to mobilize the elites for a common objective. However, the Přemyslids were thrown back onto the support of their elites—through them the Přemyslids ruled the periphery from the central princely castle in Prague, still the focal point of Bohemia in modern times.

Also, the importance of the developing church structure cannot be underestimated. With the help of new monasteries and chapters, Přemyslid princes not only founded strong centers of power, but also gave the elites opportunity to develop their relationship with the ruler through the support of princely monasteries. Gifts to these monasteries and chapters, known from the few charters and deeds, also enable us to recognize the regions where the Přemyslid power had been rooted—in Bohemia it was mainly the fertile landscape in the Northwest and central part around Prague, and in Moravia, Přemyslid donations are traceable especially in the south.

Not one source from the eleventh to thirteenth-century Czech lands informs us of this claim ever being disputed and the Annalists and chroniclers from the Holy Roman Empire accepted the Přemyslids as rulers in Bohemia and Moravia as well. However, the image of the Přemyslids in imperial sources was not a flattering one. They were recognized as members of the contemporary elite, but they were also described as kings of barbarians. Of course, being accepted as natural lords was the result of long lasting processes, and the importance of men like Christian or Cosmas cannot be underestimated. The dangers associated with the image of a "barbarian king" clearly exemplify the stories by Widukind about rulers of the Hungarians, who were not handled by Bavarian Duke Henry as peers, but were executed as a people of lower social status.

Christian is the first person we know of who was able to formulate strong Přemyslid ideology. First, he connected the most important moment in the lives of "Bohemians" with the Přemyslid princes. An unknown mythical progenitor of the dynasty would have formulated the law and would also have been the founder of Prague. One of his ancestors, Bořivoj, was according to Christian, baptized in Moravia by Archbishop Methodius. And it was St. Wenceslas and his grandmother St. Ludmila whose holiness strengthened the sacral character of the Přemyslid dynasty.

Second, Christian was also able to connect the Přemyslid princes with Moravia, which in his time had not yet been forgotten as the powerful domain led by the proud Svatopluk. On one hand, he used the story of its fall as a warning addressed to his contemporaries; on the other hand he presented Bořivoj, who accepted the baptism from the hand of Holy Bishop Methodius, as a supporter of the Church. By doing this Bořivoj was contraposed to the unnamed Moravian Prince, who, through his sins and due to his weakness in the fight against paganism, was caused to fall from power. Because of that, Bořivoj is, in Christian's story, more worthy of rule in Moravia than this "tyrant".

The role of Slavonic liturgy and writ, which is defended in the Legend through the speech of St. Cyril in Rome, remains unclear. Our analysis proves the importance of the texts written in the Slavonic language in Bohemia and Moravia compared to the texts in Latin in the tenth and eleventh-century Přemyslid domain. It was also demonstrated that "Slavonic" and "Latin" culture and liturgy were not necessarily connected with Western or Eastern Civilization, nor were they antagonistic. We will not go wrong if we see in Slavonic literature and liturgy the remnant of Great Moravian influence, which was typical for Christianity in the periphery and could have also been used to legitimate the Přemyslids as the heirs of Moravian princes or the bishops of Prague and Olomouc as the heirs of St. Cyril and Methodius.

Also, Christian's image of St. Wenceslas and his story of the holy life is an artful history, which uses many different Latin and Old Church Slavonic sources. St. Wenceslas is portrayed as a brave warrior, the leader of his retinue and strong ruler, who not only supports the church and its priests, but also imitates the lives of holy monks. Through this, the real man is transformed into an ideal ruler. As a saint and as a part of the Přemyslid story in *Legenda Christiani*, Christian also used St. Wenceslas to strengthen the charisma of the Přemyslid dynasty. In the prologue to the legend he also connects him and his grandmother, St. Ludmila, with Bohemia as a land and with the Bohemians. By doing this, Christian constitutes Bohemia as community with its own holy patrons and ruled by one charismatic dynasty.

Although the oldest known manuscripts of the *Legenda Christiani* were written during the second half of twelfth century, St. Wenceslas and Přemyslid rule remained two undisputable pillars of early medieval Bohemian identity. Thanks to men like Christian, the Přemyslids were transformed from lords of their retinues to the lords of Bohemians and their land. Upon Christian's ideas, and not primarily upon the swords of their men, resided the power of the Přemyslid duchy.

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